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William T. (Zack) Brown

William Taylor (Zack) Brown

**A DISCUSSION OF HIS LIFE IN BERKELEY CITY POLITICS
AND IN THE CONSUMERS COOPERATIVE MOVEMENT**

(Consumers Cooperative of Berkeley Oral History Collection)

An Interview Conducted by
Susan Cohen
of
Berkeley, California
in 1984

Transcribed by
Berkeley Oral History Project
of the
Berkeley Historical Society

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This interview was transcribed with financial assistance from Mrs. Lyn White, in memory of her late husband, Clinton White, and the assistance of Joy Brown, in memory of her late husband, Zack Brown, and with contributions from private donors and the Berkeley Historical Society.

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William T. "Zack" Brown

INTRODUCTION

William T. "Zack" Brown was born in Baltimore, Maryland on June 19, 1903. He lived as a child in Oaxaca, Mexico, where his father was a mining engineer. The family later moved to Washington, D.C. Brown graduated from Cornell University in 1926.

This oral history interview with Zack Brown by Susan Cohen was concerned primarily with his involvement in Berkeley politics. Brown served for two terms on the Berkeley City Council (1961-1969). Active in Democratic politics, he served first as a precinct worker and later as president of the Berkeley chapter of Americans for Democratic Action and as a long-time president of the Berkeley Democratic Club.

Ms. Cohen's interview deals secondarily with Brown's life in the cooperative movement.

Due to Zack Brown's untimely death in May, 1988, the Berkeley Oral History Project of the Berkeley Historical Society has been working closely with his widow, Joy Brown, on the details of the manuscript. She contributed to this introduction. Linda Rosen edited the transcript and produced the index. Joy Brown and Don Crawford donated portraits and credit union photographs. Naomi Shore did the final proofreading.

To supplement the data on Brown's credit union activity, we have added footnotes and appendix items. Susan Cohen and Joy Brown donated a number of newspaper clippings and other materials, some of which are also appended. Also included in the appendix is a tape index of the Matt Crawford interview regarding Zack Brown's contribution to the credit union. William M. Roberts wrote this index.

Joy Brown informed us that Zack Brown became interested in the cooperative movement during the Depression when, in the process of trying to get an engineering job with the TVA [Tennessee Valley Authority], he instead ended up running New Deal transient camps in Chattanooga and Knoxville, Tennessee. From there, he went to work for the Resettlement Administration, and for a time he alternated between a coal miners' project in West Virginia and an International Ladies Garment Workers Union [ILGWU] project in New Jersey, all of which involved helping to set up co-ops. These projects were ideas of Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt. After that, he and a few other enthusiasts

started Konsum, the first consumers cooperative in Washington, D.C., where he became the first president and later manager. Then he moved on to Baltimore to work for Southern States Cooperative, a large farmers' co-op.

At the suggestion of Jerry Voorhis, an arrangement was made for him to go to California in 1945 to work for Associated Cooperatives, the wholesale for the Berkeley Co-op. Eventually, he became manager of the Cooperative Center Federal Credit Union in 1953. Brown succeeded in making it a very popular credit union, open to all Co-op members and aimed completely at the borrower's welfare. He innovated hiring Ann Browne, a trained family counselor, to advise members who were having financial difficulties. (See Appendix A for Ann Browne's statement.)

Brown served on the Board of Directors of the Bay Area Funeral Society and the California Credit Union League, and, at the time of his death, was a member of the Shattuck Avenue Co-op Center Council, and on the Board of Directors of the Berkeley Democratic Club.

After his retirement, Brown was associated with the federally sponsored Volunteer Development Corps, serving in Ethiopia, Liberia, Malaysia, and Somalia, where he assisted in organizing cooperatives and credit unions.

In light of Zack Brown's contribution to Berkeley politics and to the Associated Cooperatives and Cooperative Center Federal Credit Union, this transcript is a welcome addition to the Consumers Cooperative of Berkeley Oral History Collection. The fiftieth anniversary of the Berkeley Co-op, celebrated in 1987, was unfortunately followed by the Co-op's demise in 1988-1989.

Therese Pipe
Coordinator
Berkeley Oral History Project
December, 1989

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**I ZACK BROWN: EARLY CAREER DEVELOPMENT; NEW
DEAL DEPRESSION WORK AND FIRST COOPERATIVE
EXPERIENCE**

[Interview January 25, 1984]##

Cohen: Today is January 25, 1984. This is an interview with William T. (Zack) Brown, conducted by Susan Cohen, at Mr. Brown's residence at 1734 Sonoma Avenue, in Berkeley, California.

Work with the Federal Transient Bureau and the Resettlement
Administration

Cohen: You said you'd like to begin with Knoxville, so why don't we begin talking about that?

Brown: OK. In 1934, the fall of 1934, I decided to go to Knoxville with the expectation of getting a job with the TVA [Tennessee Valley Authority]. That didn't turn out that way, but I became a caseworker in the relief organization in Knoxville. The Federal Transient Bureau was an organization of the federal government to get men off the roads, and give them a place to sleep and eat, rather than just going from one night's sleep and breakfast in every town they had to go to. From that, I became involved in social work and was the acting secretary in Knoxville and later became secretary in Chattanooga. . . .

Cohen: You were acting secretary of what?

Brown: Of the Transient Bureau. When the Transient Bureau started to fold up, I returned to Washington and got a job with the Resettlement Administration. I worked for the Resettlement Administration, and the two principal facilities that I was connected with were one in Hightstown, N.J., partially financed by the International Ladies Garment Workers and the rest of it financed by the Resettlement Administration. All the residents there were Jewish garment workers from New York City. They had a twofold operation--a clothing factory and

##This symbol indicates that a tape or a segment of a tape has begun or ended. For a guide to the tapes, see page 37.

Brown: a farm. It was a very interesting time. My wife, when we were visiting Hightstown, was invited to join the Sinner's Club, and when we were in Pennsylvania (the second project was in Westmoreland, Pennsylvania) at the Coal Miners' Resettlement Project, she was invited to join the Mother's Club. She enjoyed Hightstown much more.

Cohen: What was the club in Hightstown? The Sinner's Club?

Brown: The Sinner's Club. Every week they met at 11:00 in the morning and had a glass of gin. It was lots of fun! The person who had charge of the farm was Mr. Katzenelenbogen.

Work with Konsum, the First Consumers Cooperative in Washington, D.C.

Brown: When the Resettlement Administration reduced forces, I returned to Washington and helped to organize Konsum, one of the first consumers cooperatives in the District of Columbia. I was elected president of the organization and the first manager and managed it until I was asked to come to work for Southern States Cooperative. From then on, my livelihood was working for cooperatives.

Cohen: So, was Konsum a cooperative, also?

Brown: Konsum was a cooperative. The reason we chose the word Konsum, which is a big cooperative in Sweden, was we had to incorporate under Virginia law; only agricultural cooperatives can use the word "cooperative" in their name, so we organized Konsum, which is Swedish for cooperative.

Work with Southern States Cooperative

Brown: I worked for Southern States for five or six years. Then Jerry Voorhis recommended that I come out to California and work for Associated Cooperatives.

Cohen: Did you know him from your work in the east?

Brown: Jerry Voorhis was a congressman from California who became Executive Director of the National Cooperative League, a very active person in developing cooperatives.

Cohen: Where was the Southern States Cooperative?

Brown: The Southern States Cooperative was a large agricultural cooperative covering the states of Maryland, Delaware, Virginia, West Virginia, and Kentucky. I was responsible for organizing petroleum cooperatives

Brown: and building bulk plants throughout Maryland, Virginia, and Delaware. My headquarters was in Baltimore, but most of the time I spent in the field organizing various farm cooperatives and building bulk plants.

Cohen: What's a bulk plant?

Brown: We'd get gasoline and kerosene in large quantities. We had ten thousand gallon tanks, and then we'd draw the gasoline into tank trucks and deliver it to the farmer.

Cohen: They were sort of distribution points?

Work with Associated Cooperatives; Organizing Farmers' Cooperatives

Brown: Yes. We moved to California. I started working for Associated Cooperatives [AC] on November 19, 1945. My job was to try to organize farmers' cooperatives. I was able to get many farm cooperatives in California to buy supplies from Associated Cooperatives, but they would never join because they didn't want to become associated with an urban consumers' cooperative. They felt that it was not in their best interests as farmers.

Cohen: What sort of supplies did they buy?

Brown: At that time many things were in short supply. Through the national cooperative organization, we were able to buy materials, sometimes in an unconventional fashion, that they couldn't get any place else. The most unusual purchase I made was carloads of nails--bulk in the car. We packaged them in empty 55-gallon metal drums and sold them to farm cooperatives all over the state. We also had fencing, aluminum roofing, and various other supplies of that sort.

When supplies became more generally available, the farmers' cooperatives in the state were less interested in using AC's services. There was a farm bureau, which organized a supply program for farmers. It was decided to sell the business that AC had, the farm supply end of the business, to this central cooperative that was associated with the farm bureau.

Move to Berkeley; Developing the Cooperative Center Federal Credit Union in Conjunction with the Berkeley Co-op

Brown: They did that, and I was offered a job with the national grape cooperative, Welch Grape Juice Company, and went off to Westfield, New

Brown: York, for a short stay. But my ideas of cooperatives and Welch Grape Juice Company's ideas of cooperatives didn't agree, so I left them and returned to California and explored job opportunities. I found that the Credit Union, which was being run by the Berkeley Co-op on a very part-time basis, wasn't really providing adequate service to members, so I convinced the board to hire me to develop the Cooperative Center Federal Credit Union.

Cohen: When was that?

Brown: That was in 1953. Then I started working for the Cooperative Center Federal Credit Union. It did grow very fast from a couple of hundred thousand dollars of assets when I joined it. Well, by the time I retired from working, the Co-op Center Federal Credit Union had become one of the largest credit unions in California; in fact, it was one of the fifty largest in the nation. We developed a program which was integrated racially and had very liberal and constructive programs for operations.^{1,2}

¹In the words of Matt Crawford, Credit Union board member and long-time friend, "Zack Brown's whole working life was in cooperatives. He was the co-op spirit of the Credit Union for years, and really was committed to helping people."

²In 1989, Ann Browne responded to a questionnaire about her role as Family Financial Counselor of the Berkeley Cooperative Center Federal Credit Union. This position lasted for thirteen years under Zack Brown's leadership. For Mrs. Browne's statement, see Appendix A.



Co-op Center Federal Credit Union opens its own building on University Avenue in 1953.
Zack Brown is there at the proud moment!



Zack Brown (left) and Will Wyatt, Executive Director of the State Credit Union League, 1967. Brown accepts a publication award for the Co-op Credit Union.



Co-op Credit Union Board, in the 1950s. Zack Brown, Manager and Treasurer, is second from right, standing. Matt Crawford is seated at the far right.

II INVOLVEMENT IN BERKELEY POLITICS

Work with Americans for Democratic Action (ADA) and the Helen Gahagen Douglas Campaign

Brown: Because of the integrated employment and lending policy, I became active in politics. My first venture was in the year Helen Gahagen Douglas was running for senate--that was the year [Richard] Nixon got elected to the senate (1950). I became active in the ADA.

Cohen: What was the ADA?

Brown: Americans for Democratic Action.

Cohen: What sort of an organization was that?

First Campaign for Berkeley City Council (1951)

Brown: It was a volunteer organization, very active in supporting Helen Gahagen Douglas, and they urged me to run for the Berkeley City Council. It was a very low-key campaign; I think we spent \$25 on the campaign. I came in one short of being elected. Mayor Cross was one of my supporters, and, of course, all the ADA people voted for me.

Cohen: Do you remember what the issues were in that campaign, like the platform on which you were running?

Brown: One issue I know that I was supporting was development at the waterfront, on which I changed my view completely in later years, with more knowledge about Berkeley. That experience made me become active in various other Democratic organizations in Berkeley.

Cohen: So, you hadn't been that active before. . . .

Brown: Not before the Helen Gahagen Douglas campaign. Afterwards there were numerous clubs organized in Berkeley to support [Adlai] Stevenson.

Cohen: I discovered in my research that the year that you first ran for city council was 1951. You were running at the same time as Helen Gahagen Douglas?

Brown: The city election and the national election were at different times.¹

Cohen: Had she already been defeated when you ran?

Brown: Yes.

Cohen: Perhaps it was that defeat that made people in Berkeley want the city council to be more liberal. Was it something like that?

Growth of Democratic Clubs to Support Adlai Stevenson; Growth of Democratic Power

Brown: They really didn't get organized until [Adlai] Stevenson.² Everybody became active politically, and even after Stevenson was defeated, the clubs still continued to survive.

Cohen: There were clubs organized to support Stevenson, then?

Brown: Yes.

Cohen: Which club were you in?

Brown: I was in the Democratic Caucus. My wife was in the Precinct Organization. We returned from the East--we were actually in the East in November of the year Stevenson ran for election--then we came back to Berkeley the following summer and became active in the Grass-roots and other clubs that were organized. I became active in the Berkeley Democratic Club at that time.

Cohen: Was it just organized at that time?

Brown: No, the Berkeley Democratic Club is now fifty years old. It was organized in 1934, and this was 1953 when I started becoming active. I was asked by the Berkeley caucus to run for [the Berkeley] City Council that year, but I had to go East--my father died. Bernice May was the candidate.

¹The national election was held in November 1950, the city election in April 1951.

²The Adlai Stevenson campaign was held in 1952.

Second Campaign for Berkeley City Council (1961)

Brown: When the next election came about, the Berkeley Democratic Caucus nominated [Jack] Kent, [Wilmont] Sweeney, and myself as a slate to run for the city council, and we won overwhelmingly.

Cohen: What was the caucus like? It first started running candidates in 1953 or 1955.

Brown: It was right after Stevenson's defeat that it became active, because there were the Grassrooters, the Berkeley Democratic Club, the Precinct Organization, the Women's Democratic Forum, and a couple of other minor clubs. They coalesced at election time to select a slate of candidates.

The 1959 year was the first year that they were really effective, and then in 1961 they were even more effective. Since then they've been very active in Berkeley politics. At one time, the Republicans were quite strong in Berkeley, but since the 1960s they haven't even run a candidate in the elections.

Cohen: How would you characterize city government under the Republicans?

Brown: The Republican regime--they were very active for developing the waterfront. They had plans to fill in the bay for a mile out from the present shoreline. They paid very low wages for city employees. I know that one of our main planks was that we were going to raise city employees' wages to hold and attract good people.

Arthur Harris and Bernice May were on the council, and Kent, Sweeney, and myself were elected. Each year for two or three elections before 1961, we had an alliance with the Black community in Berkeley, and they selected a candidate that they wanted to see run. And, of course, the caucus selected the white candidates that they wanted. Roy Nichols and Lionel Wilson were both [Black] candidates for city council.

Cohen: Oh really? Lionel Wilson, he's the mayor of Oakland now.

Brown: Mayor of Oakland now. He lived in Berkeley at that time and he was a candidate for council. We never were able to elect a Black until 1961 when Sweeney got elected to the city council and Roy Nichols got elected to the school board. The prior year, he'd run for the council. Maybe you have some questions.

Cohen: Well, I made some outlines. Who were your supporters? How did you happen to become a candidate?

Brown: Well, I don't really know how I became one. Some people in the Democratic Caucus (Jack Kent was one) asked me to run, as I said, two years before I actually did run. It had been agreed that I would be the candidate, and because I was away, they selected Bernice [Hubbard May] in my place. She'd agreed to give up the nomination if I insisted on it, but I was glad to support her.

I had a lot of support from various people that I'd served in the credit union and from my activity in the Berkeley Co-op. The credit union and the Co-op were very closely allied with one another. I don't know how it came about; it just did. There was an agreement amongst everybody at that time. I forget when I was first president of the Berkeley Democratic Club, but for a great many years I was president.³

Cohen: That was back in the days before you ran for city council?

Brown: Yes, before I was a candidate for council.

Cohen: I guess you were pretty well known in Democratic circles.

Brown: Oh, yes.

##

Discussion of Involvement of Co-op in City Politics

Cohen: Being involved in the Co-op, was there a natural tendency to be involved in politics?

Brown: The Co-op had never been involved in politics. I was the first person in politics who was associated with the Co-op. I know some of the people, though they never vocally expressed it at that time, were fearful of getting the Co-op into Berkeley politics. At my eightieth birthday party, Gene Mannila, who was general manager of the Co-op at that time, said that he was fearful of the Co-op's getting involved in politics, or rather, having somebody closely identified with the Co-op being involved.

³Zack Brown was president of the Berkeley Democratic Club from 1970 to 1980.

Black Support for Zack Brown's Campaign

- Brown: One of the very helpful things in the campaign was going to all the Negro churches around the area with Sweeney. I always got real support from the congregations in the Negro churches because I built a good reputation for myself, managing a completely nondiscriminatory credit union. Borrowing money was tougher for Blacks in those days.
- Cohen: So, you were known in the Black community before you entered politics?
- Brown: Oh, yes. The vote I got in south and west Berkeley was very strong.

Growth of Black Political Power in Berkeley

- Cohen: I was curious about that, about what your impressions were of the Black electorate and the influence they had on winning that election.
- Brown: Well, they had a very definite influence. The times were changing. As I said, we'd run Blacks for city council and school board prior to 1961, and none of them had won. The idea of electing Black candidates grew in Berkeley over that time. I'm sure that the Blacks voted for their candidate always. It took an increased vote from the hills; it just worked out that way with Bernice May elected in the previous election. She had been very active in the League of Women Voters, and her husband [Samuel May] was quite a famous professor at Cal [the University of California at Berkeley]. The Cal people and the Blacks, everybody--they just jelled to get her elected. The same thing carried over to our campaign: a combination of University people, Co-op members, Blacks, and other liberals.⁴

⁴The following statement by T. J. Kent, Jr. from Experiment and Change in Berkeley, published by the Institute of Governmental Studies, UC-Berkeley, 1978 (p. 88), provides background about the success of the 1961 Berkeley City Council election:

"Zack Brown and Wilmont Sweeney and I will never forget, I am sure, the exhilarating and friendly excitement of working together, in every part of the community, during the 1961 campaign as the candidates of the Berkeley Democratic Caucus. . . . I had not met Bill Sweeney until after the caucusing was over. Bernice May and Arthur Harris acted on faith, too. Without their active help as incumbent council members, the overwhelming support Berkeleyans gave the liberal Democratic slate on election day in April of 1961 never would have materialized.

(continued...)

The Berkeley Review, a Newspaper

- Cohen: I noticed in some of the reading material you gave me there was something called the *Berkeley Review*, a newspaper.
- Brown: There were a lot of people dissatisfied with the *Berkeley Gazette* in 1960. A young reporter from the *San Francisco Chronicle* decided to start a paper here. He got support--a great many people gave him money to start a paper. It ran for a short time, but it didn't get enough advertising to support it.
- Cohen: I noticed that the *Berkeley Review* endorsed your slate. It never got to be that powerful a paper, I guess.
- Brown: It never got to be a very powerful paper. I don't think it ran for more than a year. The fellow that was the mainspring in the *Berkeley Review* then went to work for Associated Press in Washington and was quite a good reporter. I can't think of his name now.⁵ He didn't succeed as an entrepreneur.
- Cohen: He went on to other things. I guess the Republican regime in Berkeley had been claiming to be nonpartisan.
- Brown: That's right.
- Cohen: How would you describe the issues of nonpartisan versus partisan in local politics?
- Brown: Well, we didn't explain it. We just said that the Democrats were supporting these people, and that the Berkeley Democratic Club, the Democratic Caucus, were supporting these people. The Democratic Club was part of the caucus. We didn't explain it or justify it or anything else; we just did it.

⁴(...continued)

"Although Zack and Bill and I felt great about the combination of Berkeley groups that had given us their support, everyone who had been closely involved in the campaign was immensely grateful, in particular, for the first victory that a substantial majority of Berkeleyans from every part of the community had--at long last--given to a racially integrated group of candidates and a truly integrated citywide campaign. I think that some of the most important groups of the Berkeley community really began to know and trust one another for the first time during this campaign. The work of many years and of many stalwart civic activists who had preceded us had finally come to fruition."

⁵Orr Kelly was the *Berkeley Review* reporter.

Brown: The people that were successful in running, by and large, were well known in the community, although Sweeney was not well known outside of the Black community to any degree until he ran. Of course, afterwards he became very well known in Berkeley. At the time he ran, in regard to the white community, he was taken on the endorsement of Bernice and other whites. We acknowledged that he was the choice of the Black community.

III ZACK BROWN'S PRIORITIES ON THE BERKELEY CITY COUNCIL

Cohen: Once you were elected to the city council, what were your first priorities?

Ending the Bay Fill; Integration and Civil Liberties

Brown: Well, the first move that we made was to stop the idea of filling in any more of the San Francisco Bay. There seemed to be a divergence; I know that was one of the things that I thought was most important.

I noticed in some of the material that Jack Kent and some other people wrote, that integration and civil liberties were the primary thing. I think that we were all unanimously in favor of expanding civil liberties in the community and integrating the community.

I know Margaret Gordon, who was later on the city council, initiated a survey as to the employment of Blacks in grocery stores, department stores, and other stores.¹ The results of her survey were that Blacks just weren't accepted in the community. Blacks were not offered the opportunity of buying houses in the hill section of Berkeley. All those things we did our best to rectify wherever we could. We changed the name of the Human Relations Commission to make it more responsive to the issue of integration.² That was one of the major things that we attempted to accomplish and did accomplish, substantially.

¹Also see Margaret Gordon's oral history, where she describes this in greater detail: Margaret Shaughnessy Gordon: Past President of the Consumers Cooperative of Berkeley, Research Economist, and Community Leader, published by the Berkeley Historical Society in 1984.

²The name, Welfare Commission, was changed to Human Relations and Welfare Commission.

Downzoning

Cohen: I believe you were especially interested in rezoning the flatlands.

Brown: I don't think that I was more interested than Jack Kent or Sweeney. Well, Jack Kent and I were most active in that. In the flatlands in the area west of Sacramento Street, in particular the area in southwest Berkeley below San Pablo, lots were very small and there seemed to be a development of developers buying two or three lots and combining them. If somebody didn't want to sell, why then they'd skip his house and buy the next two or three lots and put up apartment houses there, which really made the intervening single-family houses much less attractive. The community really didn't like to have apartment houses come into their neighborhoods. We held extensive hearings and what they call downzoned about half of Berkeley.

Cohen: What is downzoning, exactly?

Brown: Well, they call it downzoning because they wouldn't let people put apartment houses in the residential districts. It depreciated the value of the single-family houses to have these apartment houses scattered all through the blocks. The residents of the area were very much in sympathy with it [downzoning], although the real estate people really put on a campaign to stop it.

Street Barriers

Brown: The first area having streets blocked off to make cul-de-sacs was in southwest Berkeley and was heartily supported by the residents of the area. The first section that got cul-de-sacs was right around San Pablo Park. It was very interesting how that development grew all through southwest Berkeley. When you drive in the area south of Bancroft, you get into a maze of streets that go one way this way and one way that way. The first experiments with that were around San Pablo Park.

Cohen: Do you think that was sort of the precursor of all the barriers in Berkeley now, the way traffic is directed?

Brown: Yes. That is, the first barriers were down in southwest Berkeley. I think that we followed the campaign pledges pretty well that we had made during the first campaign and subsequent campaigns, too. There were two big series of hearings that were on use of the land in Berkeley.

Hearings on Developing a Telegraph Avenue Mall

Brown: We were going to have a whole series of hearings about making Telegraph Avenue from Dwight Way north into a mall. What really stopped this was that we found out that a number of the buildings, those old brick buildings, were not earthquake-proof. They would have to be made earthquake-proof if we got federal money to develop this mall, so that killed the project, after many sessions of hearings about it.

Cohen: So it would have been a mall with no cars at all?

Brown: No cars at all. At that time, on each side of Telegraph Avenue, there was a possibility of buying a number of stores and making two one-way streets in mid-blocks east and west of Telegraph. It would have taken quite a bit of money, but we could have gotten it from the federal government, until we ran into the blockade that they would want those brick buildings earthquake-proofed, along Telegraph. So, they saved Telegraph Avenue from becoming a mall.

Cohen: It's hard to imagine how it would have been, but lots of streets were changed. There were lots of capital improvements made, weren't there, in that period?

Brown: Yes, we changed the structure of Berkeley quite a bit by rezoning. In addition, the improvement of planting trees down the center of Shattuck, much to the opposition of everybody when it was in the planning stage, well, it's now the whole way. Afterwards, a lot of the merchants who had opposed it vigorously told me that they realized that it was a good idea that the city council had put through over their opposition. Shattuck Avenue now is a much more attractive street than it was originally.

On University Avenue, too, we put in all the trees on each side of it. I think that we got a bum variety someplace, because there's an aphid that attacks the trees and makes a mess on the sidewalk, but we were ill advised on the variety of trees. Anyway, it's more attractive than it was before.

We spent a lot of time on integration matters. There's all kinds of things that had an impact on integration.

The Fair Housing Ordinance

Cohen: What about the Fair Housing Ordinance?

Brown: That was uniformly supported by the Democrats, although I was really shocked that it didn't pass.

Cohen: In the election?

Brown: In the election. Well, we passed the Fair Housing Ordinance--the council passed it--five to four. But then they had a referendum that the Republicans got out, got the thing signed, and it had to go on the ballot to carry it out. It lost in the election by about, as I remember, two or three thousand votes. It was 20,000 one way and 18,000 the other way or something like that.

Fred Stripp and Mayor [Wallace] Johnson were the contestants for mayor that year in the election, and Johnson won over Fred Stripp. He had vigorously opposed the Fair Housing Ordinance, and Stripp had been for it. Stripp went to defeat and the housing ordinance went to defeat. However, our ordinance was adopted as a state Fair Housing Ordinance by Rumford, who picked up our ordinance and put it before the state legislature. It finally got through and it was not overturned.

Cohen: So, was he from this area, Rumford?

Brown: Byron Rumford. Yes, he lived in Berkeley. Rumford's Drug Store is still down on San Pablo Avenue. It belongs to the Rumford family.

Cohen: It seemed like a really important campaign, that 1963 election.

Telegraph Avenue Closures for Demonstrations

Brown: Yes. Then, during the Free Speech Movement, I made a motion to close Telegraph Avenue and let them have a Fourth of July celebration.

Cohen: I think that was in 1968. Could you talk about that a little bit, the things that were happening on Telegraph?

Brown: Well, it was a very confused time. There were two elements in the movement about having parades and closing Telegraph Avenue. One was a very responsible element that really wanted to do something constructive--it was really the beginning of the anti-Vietnam situation--to show their support for that movement.

Brown: And then there were some other groups that just wanted to destroy things.

One night we, the city manager and two or three council members, were all up there to see what was happening. There was no provocation; there were no policemen anywhere around and nobody was doing anything to disturb the free flow of ideas. Somebody, a young lad, picked up a rock and threw it through the window of the Bank of America there at Telegraph and Durant. Then other people started throwing rocks and breaking windows with no provocation at all. . . . Then the police were called in to prevent further damage. It was a pretty senseless thing to do.

I know we had long sessions. The liberals in town were urging us to cooperate with the university people, which we did to a substantial extent, until the street people, every time anything happened, just started breaking up things.

The deciding thing was at one of the People's Park demonstrations. They started tearing up Haste Street, I guess it was, or one of the streets that run along the north side of People's Park. And they started trying to dig that up, and the city manager called up the superintendent of streets and asked if they were apt to hurt anything digging it up. And he said, "No, they can go ahead and dig it up as much as they want because it's such a hard base under there, they won't get very far. [laughing] Even a jackhammer would have a hard time digging anything in that street." And so they dug, but they didn't get very far. It was a very stressful time because some of the things they were asking for were perfectly legitimate, and there was no question about giving it to the people that were asking for it, and then--

Cohen: What sort of things?

Brown: Well, mostly street closings so that they could have speeches and demonstrations in favor of getting out of Vietnam. But there was a substantial group of people who were very disruptive, and the merchants along the street had their buildings trashed. So you really had a hard time separating the good from the bad or being able to give the things to the people who had a legitimate demand, because they were so often overrun by the people who were just after trashing.

##

Cohen: Well, I noticed that in the 1969 campaign, the Berkeley Caucus, in their statement, talked about the behavior of the police. Do you have reflections on how the police behaved in the demonstrations around the Fourth of July?

Brown: My personal experience, and I was often an observer on the street, was that the police were really quite circumspect. They tried to handle the situation in a very responsible way. But I'm sure there were instances when the policemen got mad or were aggravated by the crowd so that they did do things that you couldn't support. But at the same time, when I was on the street (and I went up quite often), the things I saw were very responsible actions.

##

Discussion of Berkeley's Mental Health and Public Health Clinics

Cohen: We've covered a lot of things, so we don't have that much more that I wrote down. I wanted to ask about some of the things that were issues that were dealt with when you were a councilman. One was the mental health and public health clinics.

Brown: Yes. I was a very strong supporter of having the health department in Berkeley, rather than turning their health programs over to the county, because of several reasons. One was that having the facilities here in Berkeley was convenient for the low-income people the health department worked with. A single mother would have to take a child down to the county facilities instead of taking them to the ones here in Berkeley. It seemed to me to make an awful lot of sense and it wasn't more expensive; it didn't really cost the community more money.

To have our own program was, I thought, highly desirable, and I always worked for it. I had a little experience in a public health agency, and I'd been on a visiting nurses' board for several years before I was elected to the council.

Cohen: What is that?

Brown: Well, the city hires a group of nurses--they were all women at the time, I don't know, maybe there's some men now--the public health nurses, school nurses, and community nurses. And they go into the schools if a kid has an earache or the teacher thinks they have a hearing or any other health problem. They work with the children,

Brown: senior citizens who need some assistance but don't need constant care. They go in and help them bathe from time to time--I guess every week, I don't know just how often they went. And they visit the people who have the health problems or something like that.

It was a tremendous service, and it really didn't cost such an awful lot of money. So I was always interested in getting as much community support and functioning on a local basis, rather than having it turned over to the county, which didn't have anything like the quality of care that Berkeley had. And, in a way, we paid the county taxes for our share of their public health service, but didn't get any money from the county health service to support our city service.

Cohen: Oh, no. Why was that?

Brown: Well, the county wouldn't give up any of the tax money. [laughter] It came out of the county sales tax and money, and we couldn't get any in our pocket. I guess it came out of part of the county property tax. Anyway, they wouldn't give us any money, and so we had to cough in a few bucks every year and then pay for our own program completely.

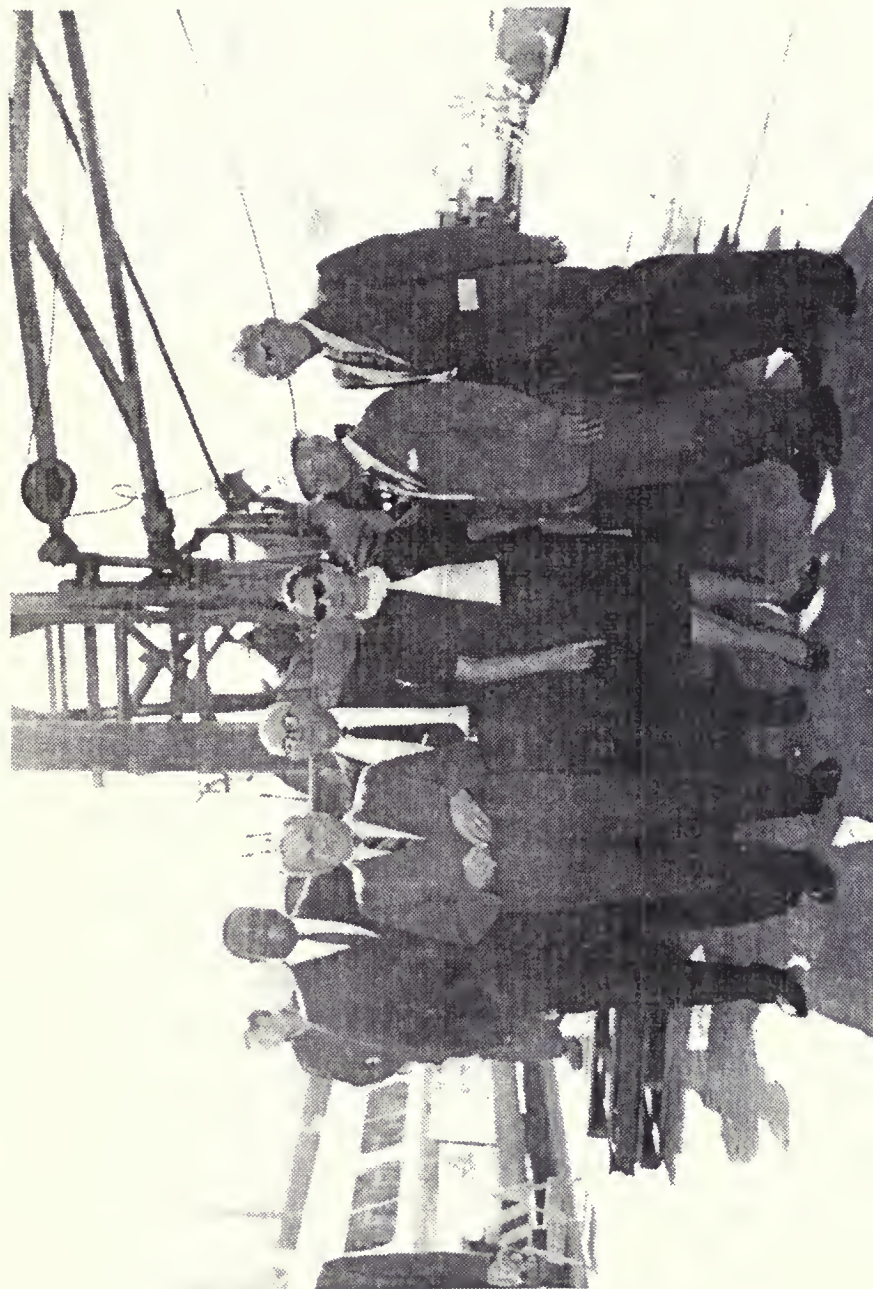
Decisions in Building Bay Area Rapid Transit [BART]

Cohen: And what about the rapid transit? Those were the days when BART [Bay Area Rapid Transit] was being planned and started, I believe.

Brown: Yes. Well, the council was unanimously supporting undergrounding BART. The original plan was to just underground it for the distance along Shattuck Avenue, and I think a little bit around the curve toward Hearst Street. But the proposal was made--I forget who started it--to underground the thing the whole way, and it was done.

BART had decided how they were going to make the Berkeley station, and we hired a Japanese architectural consultant³ in San Francisco to redesign that because we didn't like the design. A group of Blacks in South Berkeley didn't like the design for the Ashby Station, and they fought it and made some recommendations which were eventually incorporated. Mrs. Mabel Howard was sort of the leader of that.

³Rai Okamoto



Mayor Wallace Johnson, in hard hat, with some members of the Berkeley City Council at the time Berkeley citizens decided to underground BART (1968). Left to right, they are Wilmont Sweeney, John DeBonis, Dan Dewey, Margaret Gordon, and Zack Brown.

- Brown: I think it's a much better station now than it would have been the way BART designed it. But aside from those two things, I believe we were supportive of having BART underground all the way through Berkeley, and I think that it was a very wise decision.
- Cohen: There were also issues of regional government. I think there were proposals?
- Brown: ABAG. The Association of Bay Area Governments. I was basically in favor of regional planning in areas where the city really couldn't and shouldn't go it alone, but should cooperate with regional plans for the area beyond just what Berkeley wanted. I think I had always supported ABAG. I thought it was important to work with the other communities around here.

IV DISCUSSION OF THE 1969 CAMPAIGN AND OTHER BERKELEY CITY COUNCIL ISSUES

The 1969 Campaign

Cohen: I wanted to talk about the 1969 campaign also. I guess things had changed pretty much by that time.

Brown: The 1969 campaign wasn't the uniform campaign that we had in the past. Warren Widener wanted to get elected to the council come hell or high water and he didn't have the cooperative campaign that the other people had. And Joe Grodin--see, it was Grodin, [Wilmont] Sweeney, and myself, and Grodin and Warren Widener were the new candidates. Grodin was sort of ambivalent about the council, I think. There'd been a real fight in the caucus as to who was going to get nominated.

I had some enemies; I don't know why I antagonized them, but I did. My supporters won in the caucus, but they didn't gain the uniform support that they'd had in previous council races.

Joe Grodin¹ is now the district judge of the state appellate court, and, much later, became a State Supreme Court Justice. Warren, the next year or at the next opportunity, ran for mayor and beat Sweeney by 50 votes--I think it was--just by a hair's breadth. Warren was always ambitious and until he got defeated he was hoping to go up into higher politics.

We had a very disjointed campaign [for the council]: Sweeney came in at the top of the ticket; Warren came in the last one to get elected and he got a few hundred votes more than I did. And as a consequence, I believe, of not having a completely unified campaign, two Republicans (Borden Price and Tom McLaren) came in second and third.

¹Joseph R. Grodin was appointed Associate Justice of the Supreme Court of California by Governor Edmund G. Brown, Jr. on December 2, 1982, where he served until January 4, 1987. From 1979 until 1982, he served as Associate Justice and Presiding Justice in the Court of Appeal, First Appellate District. Today he is teaching at Hastings Law School in San Francisco.

Cohen: Well, another thing in that campaign is that the Berkeley Coalition, the party to the left of the Democrats, first ran a candidate. They ran Ilona Hancock. I wondered how that seemed to you at the time. I don't think there had been challenges from the left, really, against the Democrats before.

Brown: They just ran one candidate.

Cohen: Yes.

Brown: Well, I don't remember. I believe there was dissatisfaction on the left and the right; also, we didn't have as good a campaign as we had those other times. That means that all candidates were not always as cooperative as we had been previously. My recollection was that it was a very disjointed campaign, and that as a consequence of that, we didn't get the people elected that ought to have been.

Cohen: Well, do you have reflections on the rise of the left, that party to the left of the Democrats in Berkeley?

Brown: Yes. Well, we didn't think they were nice people. [laughing] That's not true. I mean, we thought they were misguided, and they thought we were old-fashioned. I remember one of their supporters gave me a record by a very conservative man. He just retired a few years ago, I can't think who he was.

Cohen: Not Lawrence Welk?

Brown: Yes, I guess it was. And they suggested that I retire; I was too old-fashioned for modern times. I really don't remember much of it. As a candidate you can often get isolated.

Joy was on the steering committee, and Joe Carter and two or three other people were representing the campaign as my campaign manager and so forth. I was carrying on a full-time job, which required a lot of time and energy. Our main campaign strategy was having coffee hours in people's homes.

For a good many weeks, we just had one or two meetings a night and we couldn't get involved in more than just meeting with the people who were at the coffee hour. We got fairly good attendance, but the campaign was never unified as it was before. I lost by just a few hundred votes and that was that.

I'd never actually gotten into the fights that were in the caucus. I know Dan Dewey was chairman of the caucus that year, and he wasn't prepared for the controversy in running the caucus meetings.

Brown: The opposition wanted to have everybody voted on and endorsed in one ballot. The people that were supporting me wanted to endorse the incumbents who were willing to run and then endorse the non-incumbents. There was a big fight on that and we won the voting that way, but it sort of split the group up for a while.

Joe Grodin got put in as a compromise candidate, but he never was very much interested in running and didn't work very hard at being elected to the council. I forget what he was doing then, a practicing attorney, maybe.

Cohen: Well, going over the things that we've talked about, are there major areas that we haven't covered or anything else you'd like to say?

Brown: I don't know, it seems to me that we've covered the world pretty well. I mean, I was supportive of the rezoning of single-family and duplex housing and BART. I generally supported zoning changes if they fitted in with the wishes of the community, because I feel that people have a right to do what they want to do, unless it's really detrimental to the neighbors or the neighborhood.

The Issue of Minority Hiring

Brown: Of course, along with Wilmont Sweeney, I was very much in favor of and supported minority hiring. There were no Black firemen and very few Black policemen. In those two areas we changed the rules so that Black firemen could get in and Black policemen could be on the force and get advancement. The police and the firemen didn't want Blacks on the force. In the city itself, there wasn't much opposition to having Blacks work in these professions.

We changed the rules, I know, on grading, so that they had just a grade of pass or fail, instead of A, B, C, or one, two, three. So that if anybody passed, why, they got on the register instead of being a Cop Three or something like that, in the test. I don't think we hurt the force; in fact, we got so that we almost had everything Black in certain areas. The city manager was Black and the heads of two or three of the departments were Black, but I think that we did a constructive job for Berkeley.

I don't see any of the things that we did that boomeranged on us, particularly. The housing zoning thing was very controversial, as were many of the things that we did, such as street improvements,

Brown: and so forth. But most of them, the community supported by a majority. I don't remember any obvious "boobos" that we made.

The council worked pretty hard to try to know what they were doing. They were quite intelligent people, too. [Margaret] Gordon had very responsible jobs at the University [of California]. Sweeney was a very capable attorney, and a very sensible person. Jack Kent put a lot of fire into the council. He wanted to have a council of fifty members at one time. I don't know how you'd ever get anything done. [laughter] I'm very supportive of the city manager form of government. Just like when the county elects their coroner, you don't know whether the elected guy knows anything about his job, and frequently he doesn't.

Cohen: So, do you sort of have closing remarks, because we're coming to the end of the tape, and it's been a good interview, I think.

Brown: Well, we were going to talk about the credit union sometime.

Cohen: Yes.

Brown: I don't know how long we can talk about the credit union--

Cohen: Well, we'll see.²

Brown: We'll see. You'll be reading some more stuff, I take it, before I see you again.

Cohen: Yes.

Brown: If you run across some other things that you want about the council years, I'd certainly be willing to try. Now we'll get some more things around here. I was trying to find some dates this morning--

Cohen: Right. No, that's really fine. The actual dates, I think, aren't that important because they're easy to find. It's mostly your perceptions of things, the way that you observed them, and your account of things as they happened. You were a major participant in a lot of really important events.

²Several items, including a questionnaire response by Robert Neptune, indexed comments by Matt Crawford, Zack Brown's statement when he ran for election to the Shattuck Avenue Center Council in 1970, and the Co-op Credit Union award named in Brown's honor after his death, can all be found in Appendix B.

More Discussion of Telegraph Avenue Demonstrations

Brown: Well, the years of revolution up on Telegraph Avenue were exciting. By having their demonstrations, they got people exercised enough to stop the war, here and all over the country. I don't think that we were, during the years I was on the council, arbitrarily repressive. The [Berkeley City] Council itself passed a resolution of opposition to that war; some of the demonstrators were more disruptive than they were constructive. Some thought us too permissive and at times it got out of hand. But I don't think it got out of hand as much as it did when [Ronald] Reagan sent in the National Guard.

Cohen: Right.

Brown: Of course, it was after my defeat, Reagan was Governor of California and brought in the National Guard, which both the Berkeley police and everybody else didn't want, and compounded the problems of the city. But that was that.

##

The Influence of the War in Vietnam on the 1966 Congressional Race

Cohen: Margaret Gordon said that in 1966 Jeffrey, what is it, Cohelan?

Brown: Cohelan.

Cohen: Cohelan, okay. He'd been the congressman from this area and in 1966, Robert Scheer³ ran against him. That was really the first serious challenge that he'd had since he'd been elected, and it was basically from the left. It was from another Democrat more to the left of him. Margaret Gordon said that she thought that this was the beginning of the rise of the left in Berkeley, the section to the left of the Democrats. I wondered what you thought of that.

Brown: We were very close to Jeff Cohelan. Our kids and his kids played together. Jeff, for some reason or other, was terribly influenced by

³Robert Scheer, who worked for *Ramparts* Magazine as managing editor (1964-1968) and editor-in-chief (1968-1969), has been a national correspondent for the *Los Angeles Times* since 1976.

Brown: [Robert] McNamara. I remember one night he was at our house and we argued until about one or two o'clock in the morning about the Vietnam situation. He felt that he knew more than we did and that he was supporting the government in that situation. He wouldn't recognize that his constituency in Berkeley was absolutely opposed to Vietnam and Scheer, as well as a lot of other very good friends of his, turned against him because he wouldn't come out against the war.

It was a great shame because, on the whole, Jeff did a very good job for the city of Berkeley and his position in Congress was very strong, except on the Vietnam situation. He got sold on the things that McNamara told him and supported McNamara instead of his constituency. I know a lot of people were terribly disappointed in his activities. We knew Jeff so well, we never turned against him, but he certainly lost contact with his constituents.

Cohen: I noticed also that you at one point introduced a resolution to the effect that President Johnson couldn't fight the War on Poverty and the Vietnam War at the same time.

Brown: That he couldn't.

Cohen: Yes. Do you remember that?

Brown: I don't remember. [Laughing]

Cohen: Okay. That was in one of the clippings. I'm curious whether you felt that it was appropriate for the council to take positions on national issues, and if so, in what way.

Brown: I certainly felt that we had the responsibility of expressing to our congressmen the attitude of the people here in Berkeley. But I never have been particularly supportive of the idea of the Berkeley council going into national or international affairs as a responsible activity. We were really in this thing because of the Vietnam War; we were all opposed to it and that's an international affair. But I don't know, you have a hard time being absolutely consistent in this area. I think that the council frequently spends time on affairs that are really not germane to its activities and neglects things that they should be doing for the city, such as discussing issues and working on problems for the local arena.

The Proposed PG&E Buyout in 1967

Cohen: I believe in 1967 there was a movement to passively buy out PG&E [Pacific Gas and Electric]? Do you remember that?

Brown: Yes. I remember that. Theoretically, in the abstract, I would be very much in favor of the community owning the electric and gas system. However, I was opposed to the program to buy out PG&E because we would have had to pay so much for it, and PG&E, maybe carefully or maybe by just chance, had the electric service in the city so integrated into the whole area's service that it wasn't just one power line coming in and then having it fan out from there. It was tied into El Cerrito and Oakland and Emeryville and everywhere else.

It didn't seem to me that it would be in the long-term interests of the community to try to buy out PG&E, which would have been fought vigorously. There were a lot of other things that we could spend our money and effort on rather than trying to get this little community in the whole PG&E setup. And where would we get our electricity from to supply the city if we did take over the distribution? It just didn't seem to me to be a reasonable thing, although in theory I'm very much in favor of it.

Cohen: How did the council get money to do the projects that it did choose to do?

Discussion of Tax Revenues

Brown: In taxes.

Cohen: Ah, taxes.

Brown: I mean, we had, of course, a lot of different ways of getting money. We had a merchant's tax and a business tax and the street meters--they're a great source of revenue to the city.

Cohen: The street meters?

Brown: Parking meters.

Cohen: Oh, yes.

Brown: Parking meters, you put your nickels and dimes and quarters in there, and they make a lot of money for the city. Then we get money from the sales tax and there are a hundred sources, more or less, to get the money to do the things that you do in the city.

Recreation, Home Rehabilitation, Job Training, and Preschool Programs

Brown: We were very much interested in developing playgrounds and swimming pools and other social things to make life in the city more pleasant. We spent a lot of money in south and west Berkeley, which had been deprived in the past from having recreation facilities. Both the San Pablo Park and the James Kenney Park were revitalized. Then we put in a number of what they call miniparks, just little parks, maybe the size of a lot, in which you would have slides and sandboxes and things like that for the small kids in the neighborhood.

And we had home rehabilitation. It was a program that was really quite good because it let people train in carpentry and remodeling work and also remodel some of the houses that belonged to older people who didn't have the money to rehabilitate them. They got better housing. It improved the quality of the houses near them and taught people how to do the work, and it just had everything, as far as I was concerned, going for it and no disadvantages.

Cohen: What was the name of that program? Do you remember?

Brown: I've forgotten now what they called it. It was a home reconstruction program, creating housing stock in the city. Practically all of it was done in southwest Berkeley, in the lowest income area. You had to have a minimum income and so forth to take advantage of this, but it was a very good program, I thought.

I also served on committees on job training programs and on preschool programs, particularly amongst the Spanish-Americans and Mexican-Americans. I felt that they ought to do much more on teaching English to the preschool children than they did. It seemed to me, when I visited their schools, that they were talking too much in Spanish and not enough in English, because to live in this country, unless you know English and can write and read English well, you're at such a tremendous disadvantage. I know a lot of people that are either lazy or like to speak their native, their birth, language. But I think it's a tremendous disservice, not to be taught English and have it as a ready language for themselves. Got another question?

Cohen: Yes. I have lots of questions. Let's see, I wanted to ask about the taxes again. I think it was the Democrats who really started getting money from the federal government for various projects.

Brown: We got a lot of money from the federal government. We had on the city staff several people who devoted their whole time to writing up proposals and sending them off to Washington to get money for various and sundry things. In a way it was good and in a way it was bad. It was good that you got a lot of good programs accomplished that we couldn't have done without that money. But, on the other hand, it made you dependent so much on Washington, and spend so much time following their rules and regulations, that it probably might have been better to have gotten the things on our own. When you get money, you're not as careful in spending it as you would be if you had to justify it on the tax rate.

The West Berkeley Industrial Park

Cohen: Right. Also, another issue of the time was the West Berkeley Industrial Park.

Brown: Yes. I thought that the West Berkeley Industrial Park, which was from Cedar to University Avenue, was a very good thing. There were very few houses down there that were inhabited, and the city took the responsibility for finding other houses for the people who were living there, in the creation of this industrial park. A group of people, Lee Coe and others--

Cohen: Who?

Brown: A person by the name of Lee C-O-E was a leader in doing the industrial park. It would have created a lot of jobs and been a much more attractive area. To mix living and industry, I don't think, is really good for the domestic tranquility and the people there. It certainly isn't good for industry to have people at nighttime wandering around through industrial buildings.

It was a small group of people that fought the thing continually, and one or two people can really block a project if they're energetic and knowledgeable about how to do it. It's much easier to block something than it is to create something. We spent thousands of dollars down there and got very little accomplished, little compared to what could have been accomplished if it hadn't been blocked by this relatively small group of people.

Cohen: I guess that was the Ocean View Committee.

Brown: Yes.

The 1965 City Council Race

Cohen: Let's see. You were reelected in 1965 for a second term. What was that campaign like?

Brown: Well, it was a very harmonious campaign. Peg [Margaret] Gordon, Sweeney and Dan Dewey and myself ran. John Swingle had resigned from the council and Dan Dewey had been appointed to take his place, so he ran as an incumbent. Our campaign slogan was "3 INCUMBENTS and the LADY." We had a few things to iron out as a team. Peg learned that we needed to run together and help each other, rather than take off, each on his own. So she reduced the size of her bumper sticker so we could all get on! Lots of little lessons to learn to run as a team! We're good friends; she's a very sincere, very hard-working person. After she got out of the council, she helped us keep a constructive program.

I know every month Peg and the city manager and I would get together and discuss what they were going to do for the next month. We were very fortunate in getting a marvelous city manager, a fellow by the name of [Bill] Hanley. Simmons and Bailey got on the council later, and they hounded Hanley so much that he quit; and he got a job out in Hayward and did a good job out there.

Discussion of Ron Dellums' Work in the Berkeley City Council and the House of Representatives

Cohen: I think Ron Dellums was elected in 1967, wasn't he? He was running under the caucus. What was it like working with him?

Brown: Well, we got fooled by Ron. He was supported by the Black community as a candidate and the caucus accepted him, but after he got on the council, he did little.

Whenever there was a hearing or committee work--I know, because he and Dan Dewey and myself were appointed as a committee for the police review--and Ron never came to a single meeting. It made the committee rather ineffective because Dan and I had one viewpoint and saw things pretty much the same way. Ron, who argued vociferously at public meetings of the council about various and sundry things in the police department, would never come to any of the hearings of the committee and a lot of other things.

BERKELEYANS

THE RECORD IS CLEAR . . .

As you walk, drive or
ride through Berkeley,
don't miss . . .

- ✓ Berkeley's first community swimming pool at Willard. Two more to be built: West Campus, 1966; Garfield, 1967.
- ✓ San Pablo Park's new recreation center. Also see how the entire neighborhood is being revitalized, thanks to citizen-Council cooperation.
- ✓ Berkeley's new South Branch library (opposite Grove St. Playground).
- ✓ Berkeley's two new fire stations (Ward and Shattuck; Russell, near College).
- ✓ The improved streets — Marin, Sacramento, North Shattuck, Milvia, Cedar, Hearst, Sutter, Henry and Oxford. (Note repaving, landscaping, better lighting and, where possible, widening and adding of center strips.)
- ✓ The Berkeley Marina construction now underway. State loan is being used to enlarge and rebuild yacht harbor. Leases have been granted for boatel, restaurants and other services.

For these achievements we can thank the decisive, community-minded majority elected to the Berkeley City Council in 1961.

**Let's continue progress by electing to
the Berkeley City Council
"3 INCUMBENTS and the LADY"**



COUNCILMAN WM. T. (ZACK)

BROWN

MANAGER
Co-op Credit Union



COUNCILMAN DANIEL

DEWEY

EDUCATOR



COUNCILMAN WILMONT

SWEENEY

ATTORNEY

MARGARET S. **GORDON**

RESEARCH ECONOMIST



Brown: Unless there was some publicity, when he could stand up and be a hero, he wouldn't attend. I sat next to him in council meetings. He didn't have a car and I'd take him down to where he worked after council meetings. In a lot of things, Ron wasn't very constructive. He was pretty much of a loner on the council after he got elected. I don't know whether he could have gotten elected if the Democratic Caucus hadn't supported him. He was on the other cycle from the cycle I was on, and so I never got intimately involved in his campaign. But I know after he got on the council that he was pretty much a loner and didn't work with [others]--he was there for Ron all the time.

Cohen: Do you remember his congressional campaign? When, I think, in 1970, he ran against--

Brown: Jeff.

Cohen: Cohelan?

Brown: No, I don't remember his campaign particularly. He was very much against the war, and that was the issue--whether you were for or against Vietnam. Jeff was preaching a program of supporting the administration and Ron was preaching a program of opposition, and that was that.

Cohen: Do you think he's been a good congressman?

Brown: Well, I have mixed feelings about him. As far as his voting record is concerned, it's practically perfect, but I don't think that he is. I think he does things in the Congress, much like he did on the council, where he could get support for himself. He doesn't really work on issues that could be more constructive than some of the things that he does. I mean it's easy to vote right on the things that come up, but you gotta make things come up that are more constructive.

With his long tenure and seniority, he could have a much more prominent voice in the Congress, because seniority is a very important thing in the Congress of the United States [laughing]. He got on the Armed Services Committee and could have been very constructive.

##



Zack Brown celebrating his eightieth birthday
with the Berkeley Democratic Club in 1983.

Guide to Tapes—William Taylor (Zack) Brown

Interview 1: January 25, 1984

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APPENDICES

Appendix A--Questionnaire Response by Ann Browne

Appendix B--Questionnaire Response by Robert Neptune;

Matt Crawford Interview Number 2: Tape Index by
William M. Roberts;

Campaign Statement by Zack Brown for Shattuck Avenue
Center Council Election;

Zack Brown Memorial Employee Recognition Award by
Co-op Credit Union

Appendix C--Background Materials: Zack Brown and Berkeley Politics

Appendix D--Background Materials: Zack Brown and the Cooperative
Movement

APPENDIX A

QUESTIONNAIRE RESPONSE BY ANN BROWNE IN CONNECTION WITH WILLIAM T. (ZACK) BROWN ORAL HISTORY

1. *Can you describe how you became employed by the Co-op Credit Union under Zack Brown in 1961 (your background, interests, circumstances, etc.)? Wasn't Matt Crawford instrumental in creating your job?*

Prompted by a suggestion from Matt Crawford, I was invited to become a staff member of the Berkeley Co-op Center Federal Credit Union in 1961. At that time the Credit Union offered to its members opportunities to borrow as well as save funds for reasonable needs, provided eligibility requirements were met.

According to clearly defined procedures and requirements, applications for loans were first received by the loan officer. After review by the loan officer, applications exceeding certain minimum amounts were referred to the Advisory Credit Committee--a committee comprised of volunteers elected annually by the membership-at-large. Given the varied background of these volunteers, Matt Crawford observed that a person with professional training and experience might be helpful to this committee of volunteers in interpreting Co-op Credit Union policy as it applied to specific individuals with specific problems and needs.

Matt was acquainted with my background: graduate of U.C. Berkeley with major in economics; masters degree from Atlanta University School of Social Work with specialty in family counseling and child welfare services; varied job experience throughout the United States, working with people from all walks of life; and several years of teaching experience at UC Berkeley School of Social Work.

I gather there was considerable discussion with committee members, total Board of Directors, as well as office managers of the several Credit Union branch offices. Finally, upon approval by the Board of Directors, Matt's recommendation was adopted. Zack Brown, as general manager, then invited me to join the staff.

As Family Financial Counselor, my services were available to the membership, as well as the Advisory Credit Committee and the staff. This was a unique service and attracted the attention of some rather prestigious groups such as the Family Service Association of America and editors of national publications. Unique for two reasons: first, it was free to the Credit Union membership; and secondly, it gave members opportunity to probe, with guidance, their own behavior and examine their feelings on their use of money.

2. *What were some of the experiences you had as a family financial counselor for the Co-op Credit Union? Did you work with low-income families? Did you find you improved their situation over time?*

Given the intangible nature of counseling, it is not always easy to measure progress. However, a recent encounter highlights the value of this service.

Just very recently, I was stopped in a public meeting place by a person who identified himself as a former Credit Union member, who had received family financial counseling over several months. I had not seen him for more than ten years. Yet, he was still profuse with comments about the helpfulness of the Co-op Credit Union counseling service.

A despondent, unemployed individual threatened with divorce and separation from his family recalled his family situation and how he felt when he had to file for bankruptcy. Strengthened by a Credit Union loan, regular counseling service, and guidance through some of his family problems, this member related that he has been steadily employed for the past 10-12 years; his family is intact; and he now has one child in college, with the second one expecting to enter college in the fall.

At the risk of over-generalization, and lacking specific statistical information, I would say those members using the counseling service were predominantly middle income, and even upper middle income.

Low-income families eligible for Credit Union loans were somewhat limited in number. Briefly, however, we conducted a small pilot project. A small number of low-income families, possessing less than the minimum assets required by the Co-op Credit Union for a loan, were granted small loans contingent upon 1) the member's participation in regular counseling sessions, and 2) the co-signature of a credit-worthy member. (These co-signers had been hand picked by me and had voluntarily agreed to co-sign.) For technical reasons, this project was discontinued within a year of service to this specialized group. However, not even a single co-signer for this group was required to pay off a defaulted loan.

As a success story from this low-income group, I cite the case of a mother who borrowed money for her son's Berkeley High School graduation expenses. She was temporarily receiving public assistance with no eligibility for credit from the usual sources. Thanks to the Co-op Credit Union member who was willing to "take a chance," the son was able to participate in his senior class activities. The support services of the Credit Union were an acknowledged help. Today this young man is employed by the City of Berkeley and making a worthwhile contribution to his community, as well as his family.

3. *How long did you work in that position? How did the job change?*

I was employed by the Co-op Credit Union for 13 years. Naturally, there were changes during this period.

The 1960s were marked by social upheaval--the years of the "hippies" and the "flower children." Family lifestyles and values were changing. Family incomes increased rapidly. And rapidly, we saw changes in attitudes about credit, and how increased family incomes would be used. Quickly, some families became overextended with credit and subsequently were referred for family counseling. The key factor here was the source of referral. Specifically, these members were referred and came for counseling, I suspect, because they felt approval of their loan application was contingent upon their participation in counseling. The more responsive group were those who voluntarily sought counseling.

Family Financial Counseling services were available to both the self-referred and the staff-referred members throughout the 13 years of my staff tenure. The beginning years of the counseling service showed a preponderance of the staff-referred members. As the service became known in the community, self-referrals comprised the major portion of the case load.

4. *What was it like working for Zack Brown? Did he have specific goals for you? Were they successfully met?*

I found Zack Brown to be a man of few words and generally inclined to allow his staff to develop programs and services independently. We both shared a concern that the Credit Union services reach the widest possible segment of the community. To this end, the family financial counselor was given great latitude in working with community groups planning conferences and seminars on credit and financial problems.

5. *What were some of the major changes that you witnessed in the Co-op Credit Union during the 1960s and 1970s? How did they affect your job?*

The major changes during the 1960s and 1970s (such as computerization of the office) were technical in nature--matters which did not directly involve the family financial counselor. Given the limitations of a part-time assignment, I found it preferable to devote my limited time to the counseling service.

APPENDIX B

**QUESTIONNAIRE RESPONSE BY ROBERT NEPTUNE ON
ZACK BROWN'S ACTIVITIES IN CO-OP CREDIT UNION**

June 1989

1. *Where was the Co-op Credit Union located when Zack Brown came to work there in 1953? How did he become a Credit Union employee, and wasn't this a major career shift for him?*

The Credit Union was being operated out of the office of the Co-op, with no other paid manager, as far as I can recall. He saw an opportunity to promote and develop the Credit Union, under active management, and he persuaded the Board of Directors that he could do this job. Effie Smith, who was handling the clerking details in the Co-op office, became a Credit Union employee at that time.

Previously, Zack had been working for Associated Cooperatives as a buyer-merchandise and later for Central Cooperative in the same capacity. After operating as a fieldman for the new Welch Grape Juice Cooperative in New York State, Zack had returned to the Bay Area and wanted to continue in co-op related work. When he found this opportunity to do so, he became the Credit Union manager.

2. *Did the membership expand under his leadership? How? Can you explain the division of volunteers versus professionals in the organization, and the ways this impacted on membership? Did the Credit Union attract professors as well as blue collar workers--a "melting pot"?*

The Credit Union expanded rapidly under Zack Brown's leadership. It was promoted regularly through the *Co-op News* as an important service for Co-op members. The Co-op itself was developing rapidly at this time, particularly in the late 1950s and early 1960s, with new branch stores. The Credit Union maintained its rapid growth along with that of the Co-op. The Co-op membership spread throughout the entire Berkeley community and included all levels of the community, including many professionals, professors, white and blue collar people. It reflected the make-up of the entire community. The Credit Union membership also had this spread of membership, since it was based on the Co-op's membership.

The division between professional and volunteer functions in a credit union is common to all credit unions and is a basic part of their strength.

3. *Besides increasing membership, what kinds of things did Brown do to develop the Co-op Credit Union?*

He looked at the problems of the Credit Union's membership, particularly in credit, and sought ways to help resolve them. He hired Ann Browne to counsel members on how to consolidate their debt and revise their money-handling. To my knowledge, this was one of the first places in the state where a credit union offered this kind of service. The Credit Union even took over the consolidation of debt and disbursed payments to creditors for members who were in serious difficulty.

4. *Where was the first branch store opened in 1956-57?*

The Co-op opened its first branch in Walnut Creek at the Geary Road store. Shortly afterwards the Shattuck Avenue (Berkeley) store was opened. The Credit Union also added offices at these two locations, purchasing the office space from the Co-op, so that it had permanent facilities at minimum cost.

5. *Do you recall whether Zack Brown influenced the policy of opening branch stores in each of the centers as they were formed? How did this work?*

Of course, Zack influenced the policy, as manager, through his recommendations to the Credit Union board. Branch offices were not opened at each center, but services were provided from each center. For example, no separate office was established at the Telegraph Avenue store because the University and Shattuck offices were too close. But easy telephone communication was provided.

6. *What was Zack Brown's policy toward unionization of the Credit Union? (Please explain.)*

The Co-op was unionized, including the office workers. It was logical that the Credit Union, which was very closely affiliated with the Co-op, should also sign a contract with the office workers union. Zack supported this action from the beginning. So far as I am aware, this was one of the very first credit unions to be unionized in the state.

7. *How did Zack Brown manage to influence the hiring of minorities in management of the Co-op Credit Union? Wasn't Matt Crawford a classic example as the first Black in management? Were there others?*

Zack influenced the policy of hiring minorities because he did the hiring. Examples were Matt Crawford, Ann Browne, Maudelle Shirek, and Kiyo Hayashi. These were all key employees. I am sure there were others.

8. *What were some of the other accomplishments under Brown's leadership in the 1950s-1960s?*

Zack believed in the cooperative and credit union movements. He became very active in the state association of credit unions and played a key role in its activities, representing the cooperative credit union. He made sure his board members and key staff participated in district and regional training programs of the state league and otherwise played active roles in the relationships with other credit unions.

9. *Was a strong anti-union man, hired by the Credit Union as manager after Brown's departure, unsuccessful due to his stance toward unions? Please elaborate.*

I think the manager you are referring to was strongly anti-co-op rather than anti-union. He sought to separate the Credit Union from its Co-op base. He even had arranged to move the Credit Union offices away from the Co-op to a building in Oakland. The Board of Directors of the Credit Union did not approve of these actions.

Previously, Zack had taken an opposite tack. He insisted that borrowers from the Credit Union be active Co-op members and supporters. One of the criteria used in deciding who to lend to was whether the member was an active patron of the Co-op. If the member was not, the loan usually was not granted.

10. *Do you recall Zack Brown's expressions about CCB management? Did he express strong views about this at annual meetings, etc.?*

Zack was very supportive of Co-op management and worked closely with Gene Mannila over many years. They shared a strong co-op philosophy. Zack retired shortly after Mannila retired.

APPENDIX B

MATT CRAWFORD

Interview Number 2 by M. Alexander
June 23, 1989
Concerning William T. (Zack) Brown

Tape index by William M. Roberts

MINUTES

- 0-5 Introduction by interviewer. Primary focus on Crawford's affiliation with the Co-op Credit Union and his association with Zack Brown. He first met Brown after he had been employed by the Co-op for several years. The Credit Union had become an important part of the CCB. First contact about 1953 or 1954 when he joined the Credit Union and ran for its board of directors. Elected and served several years; close contact with Brown, especially during board meetings. Congenial relationship. About 1959 the Credit Union began to expand to other branches as the Co-op stores and centers were established outside the original centers. First branch of the Credit Union at Shattuck Avenue, several years after Co-op Center was established there. Brown told Crawford there was an opening there because of the expansion and asked him if he was interested in working as loan officer.
- 6-10 There was only one minority member of Credit Union at that time, Maudelle Shirek. Crawford decided to submit application for the loan officer position; shortly after that began training period under supervision of Varley McBeth, head of the loan dept. Was the community conscious of providing employment opportunities for women at that time? Not as much as later, but there was a consciousness of providing equal employment in the co-op movement generally, both for women and for minorities. Brown was also conscious of this. The second branch, Walnut Creek, had as manager a woman who had worked at University Avenue Credit Union. Brown implemented such opportunities, perhaps carrying over views from his earlier work in Washington, DC.
- 11-15 Committee structure of the Credit Union: granting of loans through credit committee, an elected body which was the final decision maker on loan matters. Brown made a point of trying to get minority members of the Credit Union to run for offices on policy making committees. Do you recall if minorities had difficulties in securing mortgage loans when you joined Credit Union? Yes, redlining was common in Berkeley, as elsewhere. Brown and others began to seek some method of making home loans; Brown took leadership in seeking to establish a savings and loan to provide mortgage loans. This led to the Twin Pines S&L, whose leadership was made up of Co-op members. Another expression of Brown's interest in improving and participating in community affairs: his election to Berkeley City Council, where he was active for a number of years.

- 16-20 A conscious effort to grant loans on strict basis of needs of the people and their ability to meet the payment requirements of Credit Union and later Twin Pines, where a large number of Co-op members of all ethnic groups were given equal opportunity. How did Credit Union, with its strong social conscience, deal with people it may have had to turn down? Was there any way of helping or guiding these people? Early on the Credit Union, particularly Brown, realized that there were people who needed assistance who could not be helped without considerable counseling. As a result of this need, the Credit Union, with the initiative of Brown, brought on the staff a family counselor--a real innovation--Ann Browne, an experienced social worker as well as active in community affairs, who worked in this capacity for 13 years. She made a great contribution in helping these people, particularly low-income people. Ann Browne often made her own recommendation to the credit committee, after referral of cases to her.
- 21-25 This helped the credit union make more loans and helped people meet the obligation of loans that were granted. During this period unemployment was a major factor in the country, at the time of the first issuance of food stamps. On initiative of Brown, a food stamp center was established at the Co-op Credit Union, which existed years after Zack Brown left, convenient to the Co-op stores.
- 26-30 Could you talk a little bit about the Co-op's attitude toward trade unions and management/worker relationships? As co-ops began to take a real place in the food industry, both management and board recognized the importance of fair wages and working conditions. There was no opposition to organizing unions in either the stores or the Credit Union (different unions). That condition prevailed during Zack Brown's tenure as general manager of Credit Union; when he retired, the Credit Union tried to find an adequate manager. After several unfortunate selections, there was a period in the early 70s when a man who had been hired by the Credit Union did not have the same attitude toward trade unions as had been held previously. There was an inability to come to mutual agreements on working conditions and wage scales, finally resulting in a Credit Union strike in 1974. Credit Union offices, particularly in Berkeley, were picketed. This resulted in major problems in the Credit Union which took a long time to overcome.
- 31-35 How was the Credit Union able to maintain its independence from grocery operations and flourish? In the early years of Zack Brown's management of the Credit Union, it was housed in upstairs of grocery store; in 1953 Zack Brown and the Credit Union board decided to establish a separate office and buy property directly behind the store; that property was bought by the Credit Union and always remained independent. The organizational framework was also separate. Crawford thinks this was a major decision and responsible for the Credit Union survival. When it became clear that a larger space was needed, the Credit Union made arrangement with the Co-op to purchase the building that was then the hardware store, maintaining its autonomy. That is a major contribution of Zack Brown to the Credit Union. If it is possible for the Co-op to re-establish itself, it might be through the Credit Union, the last surviving part

of the CCB. Establishment of annual award for employees named for Zack Brown.

36-40 [Interviewer: Mr. Crawford is too modest. He neglected to mention that after the strike he was named general manager, where he remained until his retirement.] The Credit Union is in one of the most stable states that it has ever been; it continues to meet the financial needs of its members, from instant credit to 30-year mortgages. Interviewer thanks Crawford for this interview.

APPENDIX B

CAMPAIGN STATEMENT BY ZACK BROWN FOR SHATTUCK AVENUE CENTER COUNCIL ELECTION

When William T. (Zack) Brown ran for a seat on the Shattuck Avenue Center Council in 1970, he made this statement:

As manager of the Co-op Federal Credit Union for 17 years I was effective in helping to build one of the largest and most consumer service conscious Federal credit unions in the nation. I also helped to organize Twin Pines Federal Savings and Loan, putting service to members first. Other years spent in leadership roles in co-ops have also added to my experience with, and devotion to, co-ops as an important part of our society.

Emphasis on Co-op label goods (giving Co-op control of quality plus savings to members); good relations among management, employees and members; clean and inviting premises; and informational material available on suppliers (compiled by volunteers) are on my list of vital needs for Co-op to be the influential force and example it can be. I'd like to make a contribution as a member of the Shattuck Avenue Center Council. Do vote in this election!

APPENDIX B

**ZACK BROWN MEMORIAL EMPLOYEE RECOGNITION AWARD
BY CO-OP CREDIT UNION**

Beginning in 1989, the Zack Brown Memorial Employee Recognition Award is presented annually to a Credit Union employee in recognition of leadership qualities, demonstrated commitment to cooperative principles and the credit union movement, and a spirit of service, cooperation, and involvement--on the job and in the community.

Below, bottom photo, Board member Matt Crawford presents the First Annual Zack Brown Memorial Award for Outstanding Service to Credit Union employee Kathryn Butler. Taken at the Co-op Credit Union Annual Meeting on March 9, 1989.



APPENDIX C

**BACKGROUND MATERIALS:
ZACK BROWN AND BERKELEY POLITICS**

(1950s)

Berkeleyans...

IS YOUR CITY COUNCIL REPRESENTING YOU?

For many years, a small group, representing narrow, special interests, has been controlling city affairs. As a result, city services to West Berkeley have been held to a minimum or curtailed. For vigorous action, we need representation by a resident of West Berkeley, who knows and cares about the needs of West Berkeley.



WILLIAM T. (ZACK) BROWN

Candidate for City Council

A West Berkeleyan who will work for best interests for ALL BERKELEYANS. Zack is a home owner at 1533 Edith Street. He is married and has two children in Berkeley Schools. He is a purchasing agent for a cooperative wholesale group, president of the East Bay Cooperative Medical Group, and a member of other civic organizations.

OUR CITY NEEDS

● IMPROVED TRANSPORTATION

Berkeleyans and their neighbors need adequate transportation and thoroughfares. Approximately one-third of Berkeley's employed gain their livelihood outside of Berkeley. As Councilman Zack Brown will endeavor to accomplish this by planning and coordinating transportation for the whole Bay Area. How was your last bus ride?

BAY AREA CITIES NEED TO WORK TOGETHER

● BAY SHORE DEVELOPMENT

Shall Berkeley and the Bay Area develop their bay shore piecemeal? Shall the Bay be our backyard mud puddle or our frontyard pride? Zack Brown feels we can have both recreation and intensive industry on our Bay shores! We must plan for the proper use of the Bay Area's greatest resource, the Bay itself.

PARKS AND STREET BEAUTIFICATION ARE SORELY NEEDED IN WEST BERKELEY

● FAIR TAXES

The tax structure of Berkeley is not equitable. This fact was unanimously stated by a Mayor's Committee on Taxation, representing all interests. Not a single one of the Committee's recommendations was passed by the present City Council.

THIS IS YOUR CITY. IT IS UP TO YOU TO VOTE.

VOTE APRIL 3

VOTE FOR WILLIAM T. (ZACK) BROWN FOR CITY COUNCIL

POLLS OPEN 7 A.M. TO 7 P.M.



51

BULK RATE
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Zack's The Man To Back

William T. "Zack" Brown
CREDIT UNION MANAGER



BERKELEY MUNICIPAL ELECTION

TUESDAY, APRIL 4, 1961

William T. "Zack" Brown For Councilman

CURRENT ADMINISTRATIVE AND CIVIC ACTIVITIES:

- Treasurer-Manager, Berkeley's Cooperative Center Federal Credit Union, largest F. C. U. in Northern California.
- Board of Governors, Berkeley-Albany Credit Union Chapter
- Budget Panel, United Bay Area Crusade
- Board, Berkeley Visiting Nurse Assn.
- Board, California Consumers Association
- Board, East Bay Cooperative Medical Group
- Board of Directors and Executive Committee, California Credit Union League
- Board, P-TA, Berkeley High School

Zack and wife, Joy, Berkeley homeowners for 15 years. Children, Jeff and Cindy, educated in Berkeley Public Schools.

(OVER)

FOR BERKELEY CITY COUNCILMAN

William T. "Zack" Brown

Credit Union Manager



March 20, 1961

Dear Friend:

We ask your help in electing our good friend, William T. "Zack" Brown, to the Berkeley City Council on April 4. We are fortunate, indeed, that a man like Zack Brown — able, qualified, a man of great personal integrity, warmth and intense good will, is a candidate for civic office.

Zack is in politics because he likes people. We are in politics because we like Zack. Politics is people — your friends and our friends, your neighbors and our neighbors — all of us working together to achieve for our city what we cannot do separately. Our goal: a City Council willing to face the problems of the present and the future with confidence and strength.

For the past seven years, as treasurer-manager of Berkeley's Cooperative Center Federal Credit Union, Zack has helped people get things they need by planning, saving, and, when necessary, prudent borrowing. As City Councilman, by wise and economical use of our tax dollars, he would accomplish for our city what he has done for so many Berkeleyans as individuals.

Zack needs your vote on April 4. But we need your help now. We need money to continue our vigorous campaign to acquaint all Berkeley with Zack's ability and qualifications. We appreciate what you may already be doing for Zack. If you can do more — or if you have not yet joined Zack's campaign — please use the coupon below TODAY.

Together we can put Zack's name at the top of the tally on April 4.

TAUNO AHONEN
STANLEY ERLE BROWN
ANNE DORST
EARLE FULLER
BETTY GLADSTONE
MELVIN GLADSTONE

ROBERT AARON GORDON
ED HAGELBERG
JOHN HIGGINS
LAURIE LEHTIN
MARGE LEIBENSTEIN
GEORGE LITTLE

ETHEL LONDON
EUGENE MANNILA
MAUDELLE MILLER
ROBERT OWENS
MARK PERLMUTTER
GEORGE YASUKOCHI

Please tear out and mail to

ZACK BROWN FOR CITY COUNCIL

1921 Capistrano Avenue, Berkeley 7

☐ Please use my name. ☐ Here's my contribution.

Name

Address

Phone Occupation

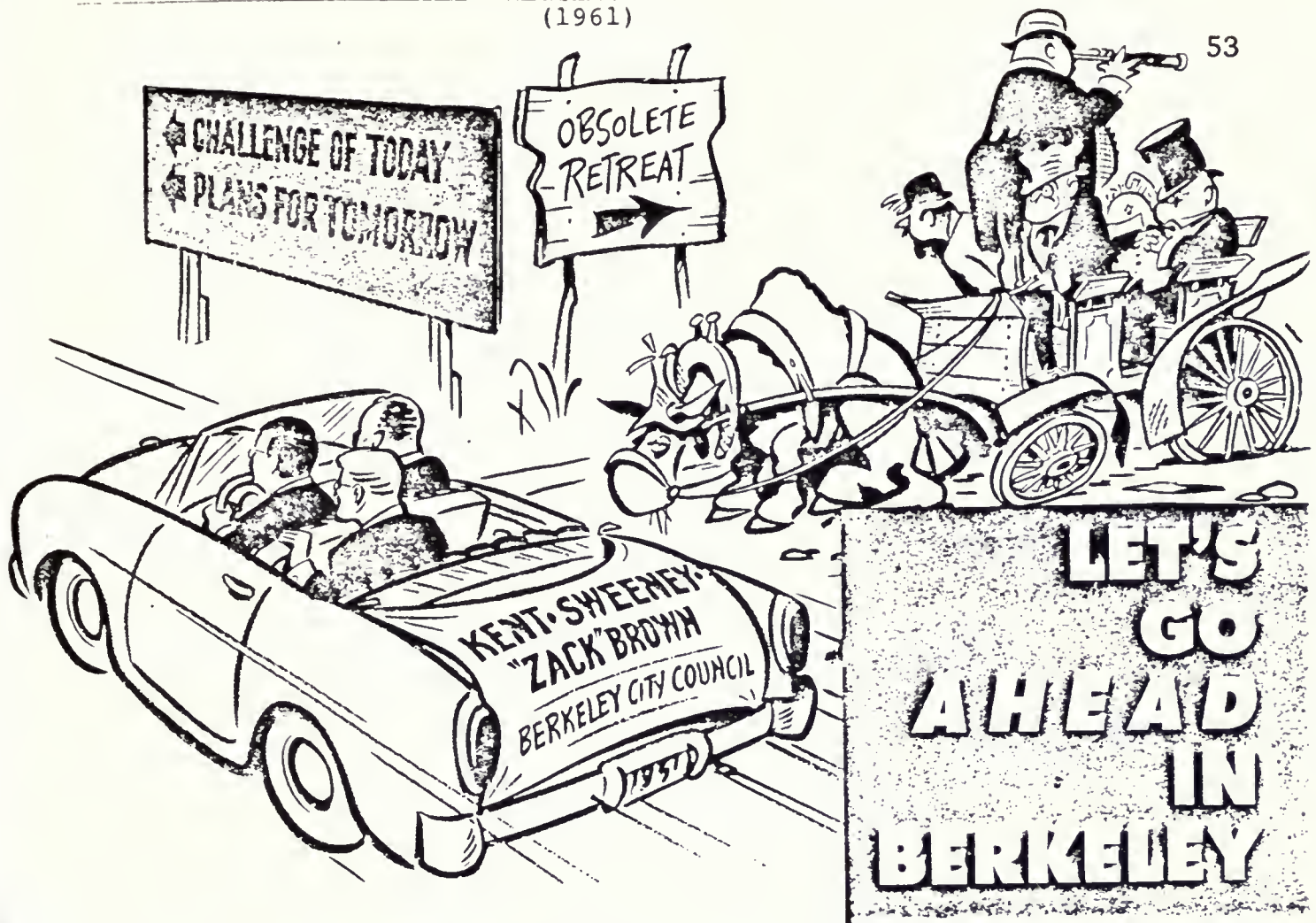
Any ideas for the final two weeks?

.....

.....

.....

Zack says: "I need your help now and your vote on April 4. I ask you, also, to vote for Incumbent Councilman T. J. Kent, Jr., and Attorney Wilmont Sweeney. We three have pledged ourselves to give Berkeley responsible, constructive civic leadership. As part of a strong Council majority, we can achieve for Berkeley what Berkeley needs and wants. April 4 is Berkeley's day of decision. We can no longer be backward about going forward."



DEAR VOTER:

We are proud to recommend to you three highly-qualified City Council candidates. Re-election of Incumbent Councilman T. J. Kent, Jr., and election of Wilmont Sweeney and William T. "Zack" Brown will give the Berkeley City Council what it has long needed—a community-minded, decisive majority.

Berkeley—home of one of the world's greatest educational centers—is a very special kind of city. Students and educators come to us from everywhere. They return to their countries with vivid impressions of the United States at work, at home and at play. Berkeley is a showcase for democracy—an object lesson in our way of life.

We are proud of the world-renowned scholars, scientists and writers who, like us, have chosen Berkeley for their home. Together we share a deep concern for our city. Together we seek common understanding of our mutual problems and workable solutions that will benefit us all.

As individuals, we cannot solve these problems. We must have leadership from our City Council that is truly representative, leadership that looks to the future and not to the past, leadership that is unafraid to lead.

Only a decisive Council majority can give Berkeley the best in services, the best in planning, the best in municipal government. That is why we urge you to join us in retaining Councilman T. J. Kent, Jr., and adding Council candidates William T. "Zack" Brown and Wilmont Sweeney.

Vote on April 4 for the three men who are BEST FOR BERKELEY.

(see partial list of sponsors)

William T.
"ZACK" BROWN
 Councilman T. J.
KENT, JR.
 Wilmont
SWEENEY
 for
CITY COUNCIL



**WILLIAM T.
"ZACK" BROWN**

**COUNCILMAN
T. J. KENT, JR.**

**WILMONT
SWEENEY**

let's keep JACK KENT on the Council
and add WILLIAM T. "ZACK" BROWN
and WILMONT SWEENEY

WILLIAM T. 'ZACK' BROWN
Administrator

His many years of administrative, fiscal and budget experience in organizations devoted to the needs of the people will be an important contribution to the Berkeley City Council. His sound judgment, his ability to act decisively, his warm and reliable qualities are valued by all who know him.

HIS BACKGROUND:

- Treasurer-Manager of Berkeley's Co-op Credit Union, largest Federal Credit Union in Northern California
- Current administrative and civic activities:
- Budget Panel, United Bay Area Crusade
- Board, California Consumers Assn.
- Board, Visiting Nurses Assn.
- Board, P-TA, Berkeley High School
- Board of Directors and Executive Committee, California Credit Union League
- Board of Governors, Berkeley-Albany Credit Union Chapter
- Board, East Bay Cooperative Medical Group
- Graduate, Cornell University
- Berkeley Homeowner, 15 years

COUNCILMAN T. J. KENT, Jr.
Professor of City Planning

Elected in 1957 with the highest number of votes of all candidates, he has an excellent Council record in leading and supporting the adoption of beginning measures long needed in Berkeley—agreement to start an urban renewal and mental health program, increased duties of our Community Welfare Commission, acceleration of water front improvement plans, stopping of smog-creating municipal dump fires. His first term has been of great benefit to Berkeley.

HIS BACKGROUND:

- Chairman and founder of U.C.'s City and Regional Planning Department
- Years of Community Service
- Berkeley City Council—4 years
- Budget Committee, Berkeley Community Chest
- Technical Advisory Committee, Bay Area Rapid Transit Commission
- Berkeley City Planning Commission
- Social Welfare Advisory Planning Committee, United Bay Area Crusade

WILMONT SWEENEY
Attorney

Selected and endorsed by a committee of South and West Berkeley civic leaders, committed to the sole task of urging the candidacy of a qualified, responsible and responsive Negro for the Berkeley City Council, Wilmont Sweeney would bring skill in human relations and a wide background of experience to the challenging job of City Councilman. His candidacy has been widely endorsed throughout Berkeley.

HIS BACKGROUND:

- Practicing Attorney
- Former law partner of Municipal Judge Lionel Wilson
- U.C. graduate in Political Science
- Hastings Law School graduate
- Elected permanent president of his graduating class
- An editor of Hastings Law Journal
- World War II overseas veteran
- Berkeley resident, 15 years
- Active Citizen:
- Board of Directors, Berkeley's Cazadero Music Camp Fund
- Jefferson P-TA
- Men of Tomorrow, business and professional service club
- NAACP Redress Committee

This is Zack...



Zack's candidacy may test power of Co-op votes

The candidacy of William T. "Zack" Brown for the City Council will provide one of the most interesting tests of what could be a potent new factor in Berkeley politics.

Brown, manager of the Co-operative Center Federal Credit Union, is the first person prominently associated with the Consumers Co-operative of Berkeley to run for public office here since the Co-op has grown to its present size.

He ran for the Council once before, in 1951, and was defeated. But since then the Co-op has grown by more than five times and now has a membership in Berkeley of more than 8500 families. If any sizeable number of these vote for Brown, it could provide a comfortable margin of victory.

RECENT ELECTIONS

In recent elections, there have been members of the Co-op among the candidates—in fact some of them seem to have joined about the time they took out their nomination petitions—but Brown is the first candidate who is known principally because of his association with the Co-op.

The Co-op itself is rigorously non-political, but if Brown is successful in his candidacy, it is likely others closely associated with the Co-op will be encouraged to seek public office.

One of Brown's major qualifications for a seat on the City Council is his experience as manager of one of the city's major financial institutions.

This experience has led him to an approach to civic problems considerably different from the normal "banker's" approach. He is, for example, strongly in favor of paying top wages to the city's employees.

"I am convinced," he said, "that our wage costs would be less if we paid enough to attract and hold the most competent employees than if we continued with a wage scale near the bottom in this area. I think we should be a leader in wage scales simply because it costs more to have any but the best employees."

PERSONAL EXPERIENCE

"I know, from my own experience, that this is true. A survey was made among Bay Area credit unions and it was found that ours paid the highest wages but had the lowest total wage cost."

Brown is also in favor

tack some of the city's problems he feels have been neglected.

"The majority of the Council has kidded themselves that we are on a pay-as-you-go program," he said. "But in the last dozen years we have taken a serious loss in our capital because we have neglected our city. If we had had a sensible pay-as-you-go program, we would not have our present problem of trying to catch up."

Brown said he would favor an immediate modest increase in taxes to begin to pay for some capital improvements with a continuing study to be made of the city's needs.

To pay for these improvements, he said, the city should make a vigorous search for new sources of income.

"Twelve years ago," he said, "a citizens' committee made a study of the city's tax structure. I think this report should be dusted off or a new study should be made so that we can find other sources of money without adding the whole burden onto the property owner."

Brown, who is 57, is running with the backing of the Berkeley Caucus, an organization made up of representatives from the city's various Democratic groups. His campaign is being closely coordinated with those of Councilman T. J. Kent, Jr., and Wilmont Sweeney, who also have the backing of the Caucus. Like them, he shares the view that one of the elements essential to civic progress is a change in the Council majority.

MINORITY GROUPS

Like Kent and Sweeney, Brown is acutely concerned about increasing the participation of the city's various minority groups in civic affairs.

"I think the lack of representation of minority groups—whether racial or political—on the city's boards and commissions is terribly serious," he said. "Because they do not have the opportunity to participate, people are just sitting on their hands. I think that if we have representation from all segments of the city, people will take a much more active part in

(Continued on Page 7)

More Zack INTERVIEW

(Continued from Page 2)
governing themselves."

In connection with this, Brown said he thought it was very important to prevent South and West Berkeley from becoming segregated districts.

"In my work I see descriptions of some of the housing in our city. People are living in the worst slum conditions," he said.

"We have to keep the whole area from becoming that way.

"If the city recognizes this as a problem, we can do a great deal, for example, just by seeing that the present quality of the housing is maintained."

Brown said he was also very much in favor of an urban renewal program, but one that was carefully planned so as not to price those who now live in the renewal areas out of their homes.

"Other cities have kept themselves healthy and vital without ripping out whole areas and I think we can do the same," he said.

Brown is one of those who takes a rather dim view of the need for an ever-increasing number of freeways.

"I am very skeptical, for example, of the need for the proposed Shoreline Freeway paralleling the

Eastshore Freeway," he said. "I think we have to devote our energies to something more important than building freeways all over the land. We have to have rapid transit that people will use. Just building more freeways is not the answer to our transportation problems."

Brown lives at 1047 Mariposa avenue.

THE BERKELEY REVIEW

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VOL. 2, NO. 21

MARCH 30, 1961

EDITORIALS

It takes 5 votes to ring the bell

Thumbing through a volume on Thomas Jefferson the other night, this quotation caught our eye:

"To Jefferson, therefore, we must go... for the fullest expression of government through consent, through reason, through law and through energetic and progressive change."

This, we believe, is precisely the attitude Berkeley needs now, the only attitude that will not only save it from the perils of the future but turn those perils into opportunities for progress.

This is the basis for The Berkeley Review's endorsements on issues and candidates for next Tuesday's election.

We strongly endorse both the \$11.4 million in school bonds and the \$1.6 million in storm drain bonds. Both of these reasonable financing measures are needed to prevent further deterioration of our capital investment in public facilities.

In the contest for the Board of Education, we favor the election of the Rev. Roy Nichols and Mrs. Carol Sibley. They seem to us to be the best qualified of the five candidates and the two candidates who take the most encouragingly positive approach toward the problems of providing adequate educational opportunity for all of our children.

In the contest for the City Council where four seats are to be filled, we favor the re-election of T.J. Kent, Jr., head of the Department of City and Regional Planning at the University of California, who has served admirably during a frustrating four-year term as one of the leaders of the Council minority.

In order to increase that minority to a majority, we recommend the election of William T. "Zack" Brown, manager of the Cooperative Center Federal Credit Union, one of the city's major financial institutions; Bruce Brown, a realtor whose experience should prove especially valuable as the city embarks upon its urban renewal program, and Wilmont Sweeney, an intelligent young attorney who will, if he is elected, give the city's large Negro population its first representation at the top policy making level.

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Re-election of Kent and the election of the two Browns and Sweeney would bring a new look to Berkeley's City Council and a refreshingly progressive approach to some of the serious problems we face.

They have all indicated a willingness to find ways to get started on the civic improvements recommended after a lengthy study by a large and representative citizens' committee.

They are all outspokenly in favor of providing broader representation in government to the city's various racial and political groups through appointments to boards and commissions.

They have all indicated a desire to find new sources of tax revenue to finance the needs of the city rather than adding to the property owners' tax burden and rather than simply refusing to do some of the things that should be done.

Most important of all, in our belief, these candidates could do a great deal to give the city a sense of direction and to gather public support throughout the city for projects for civic improvement.

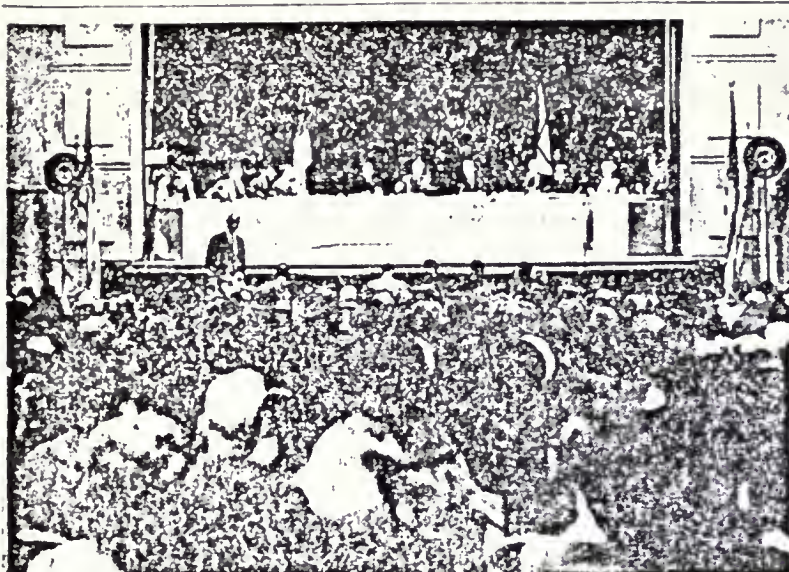
We have no doubt that any one of those seeking election, or re-election, to the Council would serve honestly and conscientiously. But, as is frequently pointed out at Council meetings, it takes five votes—and in some cases six—to accomplish anything. Any one Councilman, no matter how well qualified, can accomplish very little unless he has the support of at least four other Council members.

We would not expect those whom we support to see eye-to-eye on all—or even most—of the decisions made by the Council. But on those issues which critically affect Berkeley's future, those issues the present majority of the Council has too often ignored, we have confidence that they will work together to provide the "energetic and progressive change" that is essential to Berkeley's future well-being.

Council Sets Deadline To Act on Housing Bias

(Berkeley Gazette, 11/28/62)

59



An overflow crowd of more than 700 persons attends the Berkeley City Council public hearings on discrimination in housing within the city. At the meeting in the Berkeley Little Theater, the Council ordered drafting of an ordinance which would make discrimination by landlords or property salesmen subject to jail terms or fines. A decision on the ordinance will be rendered at the Council meeting next Tuesday.

Berkeley Forum—

Civic Leaders' Views on Anti-Discrimination Law

A large number of Berkeleyans and local organizations were on record today regarding a proposed ordinance designed to eliminate discrimination in housing. Here is what some of them said: Assemblyman W. Byron Rumfeld—"Berkeley can follow three other cities that have such ordinances—Toledo, Pittsburgh and New York. If this passes, I would see Berkeley's ordinance as a model for statewide legislation in the field at the next session of the legislature." Father Paul Scanlon, represent-

ing the Roman Catholic Clergy of Berkeley and Bishop Floyd Bozeman of the Diocese of Oakland—said, "All men are equal in the sight of God." Rev. F. Marion Smith, former minister, Trinity Methodist Church—"Khrushchev says he will bury us. But it is even more possible for us to dig our own graves if we flaunt the principles of democracy and deny equal rights of housing because of color, race or creed."

VITAL INTEREST

Edward W. Strong, chancellor, University of California, Berkeley: "The University is vitally interested in efforts of the city of Berkeley to study and control housing discrimination."

Ned Robinson, representing the board of directors of the Berkeley Realty Board—"The board . . . approved the citizens committee report. But (we) hope you never have to enact the penal provisions of the ordinance. The problem can be worked out by cooperation. We have reaffirmed our long-standing policy against discrimination. We urge a two-step operation. Wait on enactment of the penal provisions. The adverse proceedings defeat what we're trying to accomplish. It increases friction and hostilities."

Dr. Roy Nichols, member, Berkeley Board of Education: "Let me make it clear, therefore, that I have not come tonight as a beggar asking for a gift. I have come as your fellow citizen

PROPERTY RIGHTS

Emma Luddeman, secretary, Berkeley Citizens United—"One of the greatest of individual freedoms is the ownership of property and such proposed legislation would be a serious challenge to

(Continued on Page 5, Column 1)

Decision Promised Tuesday

By JIM DEMPSEY

An ordinance—with teeth in it—to eliminate discrimination in housing in Berkeley is being drafted today at the direction of the Berkeley City Council.

The council ordered City Attorney Robert Anderson to pattern the ordinance after the recommendations of the Berkeley Community Welfare Commission.

The ordinance will include provisions for a \$500 fine or six months in jail, or both, for a landlord or homeowner who discriminates in the sale or rental of property.

The council promised action on the ordinance—either all or part of it—at its meeting at 8 p.m. next Tuesday.

The action to draft the ordinance came at the conclusion of a five-hour public hearing attended by an overflow crowd of 700 at the Berkeley Little Theater. More than 100 persons had to be turned away.

More than 60 persons—most of them representing organizations—spoke in favor of the legislation. A half-dozen persons spoke against it.

ENDORSEMENT

The Berkeley Realty Board, representing more than 500 realtors and real estate sales persons in the city endorsed the report of the 18-member Citizens Committee to Study Discrimination in Housing in Berkeley, but asked that the penal provisions be dropped—at least for the time being.

The only organization which spoke directly against the committee's findings and the commission's recommendations on them was Berkeley Citizens United. The group felt the ordinance was "defective" and would be discriminatory against the property owner.

Following the hearing five coun-

(Continued on Page 2, Column 1)

Council Orders Drafting of Anti-Discrimination Housing Code

2 BERKELEY DAILY GAZETTE...Wednesday, Nov. 28, 1962

(Continued From Page One)

Members — Vice Mayor Arthur Harris and T. J. Kent Jr., Wilmont Sweeney, W. T. "Zack" Brown, and Mrs. Bernice Hubbard May—urged immediate action.

Four other councilmembers — Mayor Claude B. Hutchison, Mrs. Lee Breckinridge Thomas, Arthur Beckley and John DeBonis—indicated they wanted to discuss and study portions of the ordinance and also pointed out that

100 persons — some of whom wanted to air their views at the public hearing—were turned away and should have a chance to speak at a future meeting.

"We've had this report in our hands for eight weeks," said Kent, "I feel we should attempt to take action."

"There's no need for further

public hearing," Harris said. "The time for action has come."

"There's no sense dilly-dallying with further public hearings," said Brown.

"I question the advisability of further public hearings," said Sweeney.

"I always want to hear everyone," said Mrs. May. "I think we should approve the drafting tonight, and then hold discussions of the ordinance."

On Kent's motion to bring the matter to vote, Mayor Hutchison said he felt those who were turned away should have a chance to speak at a later meeting.

"You want to deny the right of others to have a chance to speak?" he asked.

"The people who tried to get in and couldn't should have an opportunity to speak," Mrs. Thomas said. "I certainly feel it should be continued."

"I want to put it over," said DeBonis. "I don't think we've heard from all the people of Berkeley tonight. Also, I don't want that prison term in there. That was passed by a split 8-7 vote of the commission."

"It's not the usual practice for us to go for a vote after a long hearing," said Beckley.

9-0 VOTE

After considerable discussion the council voted 9-0 to direct the city attorney to draft an ordinance in line with the commission recommendations. The motion included a statement that the council would reach a decision at its next meeting.

Mrs. Thomas qualified her "yes" vote with the statement: "I am voting reluctantly so we can get it on the way."

Religious, civic, political and business groups endorsed the findings of the citizens' committee.

The Community Welfare Commission has asked for additional powers to carry out the provisions of the ordinance through the Commission on Intergroup Relations. There would be several conciliatory steps first, starting with an investigation of the complaint. If all else failed, the matter would be turned over to the courts.

The commission also urged a continuing study of discrimination in housing, and a program of public education, and asked the city to urge the state and federal governments to create "adequate and unequivocal" legislation against discrimination in housing.

WORD OR DEED

The commission recommended that the ordinance include a provision making it "unlawful to incite or induce, either by word or deed, another to violate the provisions" of the anti-discrimination ordinance.

A large number of ministers, rabbis and representatives of churches and religious schools spoke in favor of the ordinance, including the clergy of the Roman Catholic Church of Berkeley and the East Bay Board of Rabbis.

Prominent persons who spoke in favor of the ordinance included Assemblyman W. Byron Rumford; Dr. Roy Nichols, a member of the Berkeley Board of Education; and Rev. F. Marion Smith, former minister, Trinity Methodist Church.

Among the groups that en-

dorsed the proposed anti-discrimination ordinance were the Consumers Cooperative of Berkeley, the Berkeley League of Women Voters, University Church Council, Wesley Foundation, East Bay Board of Rabbis, Japanese American Citizens League, Friends Committee on Legislation, Berkeley Society of Friends, Jewish Community Relations Council, Berkeley Council of Social Planning, Berkeley Chapter and Western Regional Chapter of the National Assn. for the Advancement of Colored People.

Berkeley Committee on Fair Housing, Law Students Democratic Club, Alameda County Central Labor Council, Bay Area Civil Rights Action, Unitarian Fellowship, Assn. of Real Property Brokers, Berkeley Political Action Committee, University YMCA, University YWCA, East Bay Local of the Socialist Party, University Students Co-operative Assn., Stiles Hall, Berkeley Fellowship of Unitarians, ILWU Warehouse Union Local 6, Senate of the Associated Students of the University of California, Gamma Phi Sigma Chapter of Phi Beta Sigma Fraternity, Berkeley Chapter of the Congress on Racial Equality, Housing Opportunities Made Equal, Grassroots Democrats of Berkeley, Northern California Medical-Dental and Pharmaceutical Assn., Life-Stream Students Foundation, Citizens Committee for Racial Equality, Berkeley-Albany Council of Churches.

PRELIMINARY STATEMENT OF PRINCIPLES
OF THE BERKELEY CAUCUS
JANUARY 1963

THE FAIR HOUSING ORDINANCE, passed January 15, is the single most definitive issue before us in the April city election.

The Berkeley Caucus repeatedly has declared its determination to wipe out discriminatory practices which have denied Negro citizens, especially, the right to fair treatment, without regard to any qualifications they might have as individuals, and solely on the basis of their color or racial background. We applaud a law which says to owners of real estate, "You may measure the individuals interested in your property against other individual citizens according to their behavior, economic standing, or other reasonable standards of merit, but you may not refuse him the use of your property simply because he is of any particular color or race or religion or national background against which you happen to be prejudiced." We applaud the councilmen who recognize that firm steps must be taken to control the actions of people toward each other in this matter, even though their attitudes are not subject to the same regulation. The council has made every provision for conciliation and clarification, and in almost every case these procedures will resolve any dispute. But the necessary conciliatory efforts cannot be assured without providing for effective enforcement. The ordinance is a great step in establishing the right of all Berkeley citizens to fair treatment in normal transactions.

This is so obvious, and the number of Berkeley voters who suffer discrimination is so great, that even candidates representing the opponents of fair housing practices are likely to shy away from a head-on attack on the concept of the ordinance, but will rather call for a referendum, leaving it to their supporters to mobilize the unfounded fears and prejudices of the uninformed in an attempt to repeal the ordinance. Such a referendum vote would negate all the careful reasoning of the City Council, based on a thorough study of fact and opinion presented in open hearings. Worse, it would divide the Berkeley community and harden the lines of prejudice, rather than unify the citizens in the effort to assure fair treatment to all in advancing the welfare of the community as a whole.

The Berkeley Caucus therefore cannot consider supporting any candidate who does not actively oppose any attempt to weaken or repeal the fair housing ordinance, whether by referendum or otherwise.

When we question potential candidates on matters of transit, urban renewal, sources of revenue, and the like, we usually in fact, are probing for the general premises on which they will be basing their future decisions, rather than for technical information.

The premises, or principles of the Berkeley Caucus are:

1. The aim of government is to protect and adjudicate the rights of all citizens and to fill the imperative needs of the citizens for services and facilities which they cannot provide for themselves.
2. A city government which allows any group of citizens to suffer discriminatory limitations on their ordinary civil rights is neglectful of its duty.
3. Pressing community needs must be recognized and energetic efforts made to fill them. To attempt to rationalize inaction in the name of "economy" is false economy. To stand pat on the status quo, without any serious attempt to face growing problems, is to abandon the community to the deterioration which is typical of urban areas.
4. The material and cultural welfare of the community as a whole will be most advanced if priority is given to those sections of the community most disadvantaged by unfilled needs.

Civil Liberties

5. Local government must protect the constitutional civil liberties of its citizens and cannot properly encourage attempts by anyone to restrain the free expression of opinion. Because one of Berkeley's great assets is its reputation as a center of enlightenment, the government of Berkeley has a special responsibility to foster an atmosphere conducive to free inquiry.

Housing

6. When the exercise of city policy forces the dislocation of some citizens, as in urban renewal or transit projects, the city has a responsibility to help them relocate in equally adequate housing at a cost they can afford.
Both because large-scale dislocation of families is in the picture, and because there already is a shortage of low-rent housing, the city will have to face up soon to the need for a solution to the housing problem, including the possibility of public housing.

Waterfront

7. The geographical situation of Berkeley is another of the city's great assets and care must be taken to protect and enhance the essential character of this asset. As a community which prides itself on its enlightenment, among the many communities facing the question of bay front development, Berkeley has a responsibility to thoroughly consider the wide implications of any development plan, and the effect of its example. Any waterfront development must preserve the scenic and recreational values of the bay, and must be in rational accord with other bay area development. If it permits a reasonable profit to investors, yet it must inhibit private speculation at public expense.

United States of America

Certificate of Election

STATE OF CALIFORNIA,
County of Alameda } ss.

I, Edythe Campbell, Clerk of the
City of Berkeley, State of California,
do hereby certify, that at a GENERAL MUNICIPAL ELECTION
held in said City on the 6th day of April, 1965,
William T. Brown

was elected to the office of
Councilman

as appears by the official returns of said election, and the
statement of votes cast now on file in my office.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF, I have hereunto
affixed my hand and official seal this 3rd
day of May, 1965.

Edythe Campbell
City Clerk

Re-elect WILLIAM T. "ZACK" BROWN to the BERKELEY CITY COUNCIL April 6, 1965

First elected to the Berkeley City Council in 1961, "Zack" Brown has decisively helped to provide Berkeley with strong, effective civic leadership. He seeks re-election because he wants to continue working with fellow Councilmen and other concerned citizens for the best possible municipal government. Much was accomplished during "Zack's" first term, but much more remains to be done. Council accomplishments (1961-1965) include:

- Upgrading and integrating of city employment.
- Opening of first community swimming pool; two more definitely scheduled.
- Expansion of social planning responsibilities of Human Relations and Welfare Commission.
- Doubling of Workreation program for teen-age boys and girls.
- Expansion of mental health and public health clinics.
- Completion of San Pablo Park Recreation Center.
- Improvement and beautification of city streets.
- Rejuvenation of Aquatic Park.
- Preservation of the waterfront.
- Appointment of truly representative citizens to city boards and commissions.
- Involvement of outstanding citizens in Council advisory committees.

"ZACK" BROWN is EXPERIENCED, QUALIFIED, DEDICATED and RESPONSIBLE.

- Cornell University graduate.
- Berkeley homeowner since 1946.
- Married to Joy Waterfield, father of two children educated in Berkeley schools.
- Jeff, second-year law student, Harvard Law School.
- Cindy, junior at the University of California at Davis.
- Member, Police and Fire Pension Boards.
- Council Representative, Human Relations and Welfare Commission.
- Board and Executive Committee, California Credit Union League and Twin Pines Federal Savings and Loan Association.
- Board, Berkeley-Albany Credit Union Chapter and Senior Housing Association.
- Manager, Cooperative Center Federal Credit Union.
- Member, NAACP, American Civil Liberties Union, California Consumer Association, Berkeley Co-op.

"ZACK" BROWN'S CAMPAIGN PLEDGE:

"I will continue to work for the physical, economic and social improvement of our city. I promise to help provide progressive but prudent management of our city's resources."

By working to help re-elect "ZACK" BROWN, you will be helping to give Berkeley the best in services, the best in planning, the best in municipal government,

ONE GOOD TERM DESERVES ANOTHER

Re-elect WILLIAM T. "ZACK" BROWN to the BERKELEY CITY COUNCIL April 6, 1965

1047 Mariposa
LA 4-6065

February 8, 1965

Dear Friend,

You don't have to be told how important it is to maintain, and if possible enlarge, our liberal majority on the Berkeley City Council. Election day is April 6; there is much to be done.

The enclosed tickets are for the ONLY Berkeley Caucus fund-raiser that will be held. The Caucus has endorsed four outstanding candidates: "Zack" Brown, Dan Dewey, Wilmont Sweeney (incumbents) and Mrs. Margaret Gordon. Now we have an obligation to help them raise the funds necessary to run a winning campaign.

Prof. T.J. Kent, Jr. is being honored at this benefit for his outstanding service on the City Council. He has decided not to seek re-election because of conflicting academic commitments. We owe much to Jack Kent, not only for his contributions during the eight years he served the City of Berkeley as a Councilman, but also for his leadership in running a joint campaign which gave him his second term and elected Wilmont Sweeney and "Zack" Brown to the Council in 1961.

The Berkeley Caucus is a coalition of Democratic groups, who come together every two years to recruit, endorse, and help elect capable and experienced candidates to public office in Berkeley. Participation in the work of the Caucus is our way of working for strong, responsive, and responsible local government for Berkeley.

Beginning four years ago when we were successful in electing a liberal majority to the Council, Berkeley has moved ahead on many fronts; race relations, recreation, transit, streets, to name only a few.

Now, we must continue. Your help is needed. You can pay at the door, or you can return your check for the enclosed tickets in the return envelope.

Sincerely,

THE BERKELEY CAUCUS

Robert Nisbet, President
Frank Brown, Vice-President

Mrs. Mary Kent, Secretary
Frank Lindgren, Treasurer

P.S. If you have a parking problem, park your car on LeRoy and use our shuttle bus.

THE DEMOCRAT

A Newspaper for Democrats in the 7th Congressional District

VOL. VIII — No. 1



MARCH, 1965

1853 Ashby Ave., Berkeley, Calif.

Berkeley City Election Coming April 6 The Issue—Forward or Backward?

Berkeley voters will elect four City Councilmen and three School Board members when they go to the polls on Tuesday, April 6.

Their choice will decide whether the city government will continue in the forward direction it took four years ago, or whether it will slip back into inaction.

For in 1961 the people of

Berkeley succeeded in electing a truly REPRESENTATIVE City Council for the first time in many decades, perhaps since the beginning of city history. For the first time a majority of the Council was ready to face up to the fact that age and population growth had created problems demanding solutions.

Always before the city gov-

ernment had seemed to think that if it closed its eyes, the problems and the needs of the people would just go away.

But Wilmont Sweeney, Wm. T. "Zack" Brown, and T. J. Kent—running together in the knowledge that a like-minded majority was needed to accomplish anything — staked their election on a pledge for orderly progress. They were

endorsed by the Berkeley Caucus and their election was recommended by The Democrat.

Often joining with Bernice May and Arthur Harris in a 5-4 vote, they have chalked up an enviable record.

The recent death of a conservative member of the Council required that the Council appoint a replacement, and they named Daniel Dewey, who has announced support for the majority's program.

Dewey and Sweeney, Brown are now campaigning for election, together with Margaret Gordon, economist

and associate director of the University of California Institute of Industrial Relations.

Mrs. Gordon is a promising replacement for Kent, who will not seek re-election because he is due to go on sabbatical leave from the University. Like Kent, she symbolizes one of Berkeley's greatest resources—the vast reservoir of brain-power at U.C.

The Berkeley caucus has endorsed Sweeney, Brown, Dewey and Mrs. Gordon for election April 6. (See "Who is the Berkeley Caucus?" back page.)



"THREE INCUMBENTS AND THE LADY," endorsed by the Berkeley Caucus for Election to the Berkeley City Council, gathered signatures on their filing papers immediately after the vote of support. . . they are: Daniel Dewey, Wilmont Sweeney, Wm. T. "Zack" Brown, and Margaret Gordon.

Berkeley's Creative School Board Faces Vote on Quality Education

The battle is on for positions on the Berkeley School Board, governing body of one of the most forward-looking and educationally excellent school systems in the United States.

As the candidates detail their positions, questions are popping up: Who are its board's members? What do they do? What are the aims, policies and philosophies of the board?

Dr. Neil V. Sullivan, superintendent of Berkeley schools, and keystone around which the Board functions, says: "Our major aim is communications. What we need is wide and deep understanding of what we are trying to do, the challenges we are trying to meet and the

problems we are trying to solve."

There are other objectives, for education is a total process, committed to democracy, involving a variety of individuals—with changing needs and talents.

A balanced program is essential to provide for all areas of need. Details of Berkeley's exciting program of quality education for every child will be found on pages 4 and 5 of this paper.

The Berkeley School Board, as outlined under city charter, is composed of five members, each serving a four-year term. The terms are staggered by two-year intervals so that there

will never be a totally new or inexperienced board.

Present members of the board are Dr. Sherman Maisel, Mrs. Carol Sibley, Dr. Samuel Schaaf, the Rev. Laurence P. Byers and John J. Miller.

All members are required to run for office and are elected by popular vote, three in the city's April 6 election.

When a vacancy exists on the Board, the remaining members can appoint an interim member to serve until the next election, after which he must submit to public election.

Generally board work takes from 15 to 20 hours minimum hours a week, not to mention

(Continued on Page 5)

Take a look at some of the things a liberal majority on the City Council has accomplished for Berkeley in just four years.

It has upgraded and integrated city employment; opened the first community swimming pool (with two more coming soon); expanded the social planning responsibilities of the Human Relations and Welfare Commission; doubled the Workrecreation program for teenage boys and girls; expanded the mental health and public health clinics, including tax-supported family planning service; completed the Sun Pablo Recreation Center; improved and beautified city streets; completed the storm and sewer drains authorized by the voters; saved Aquatic Park for the people and dredged its lagoon; resisted pressure for filling bay tidlands and developed a plan for expanding recreational and commercial facilities at the new Berkeley Marina; built a new firehouse and

provided equipment need for efficient firefighting service.

There has been no raise in taxes in the past three years, and Berkeley's taxes are still substantially lower than those of nearby communities.

The pay-as-you-go Capital Improvements Program of the City Council has enabled Berkeley to make steady progress according to the priority needs of the people.

Citizen Participation

Perhaps it is the style of government that has changed most dramatically in Berkeley during the past four years. For decades the City Government had operated like a private conservative club, paying little attention to the needs and opinions of any citizens except a privileged few. As Berkeley's population grew and changed—and especially as the Negro population increased to

(Continued on Page 2)

'The Democrat' Recommends:

For Berkeley City Council:

Wilmont Sweeney

Wm. T. "Zack" Brown

Daniel Dewey

Margaret S. Gordon

For Berkeley School Board:

Dr. Samuel Schaaf

Laurence Byers

John Miller

Tear out this list and take it to the polls.

In this Issue:

Four Faces of Progress...page 3

Story of Berkeley Schools—Pages 4 & 5

Directory of Democratic Clubs...page 6

Oakland Election News...Page 7

WHO is the Berkeley Caucus?...page 8

City Council Berkeley's Four Years of Progress

(Continued from page 1)

somewhere around 26 per cent—this clannishness weighed ever more heavily on the citizens the government was supposed to represent. Now citizens from throughout the city play an important part in their government.

As City Manager John D. Hillips said in submitting the 1963-64 fiscal year report, "Inexpensable to the many community accomplishments of the past year have been efforts of the nine-member City Council, the over one hundred distinguished citizens appointed to the City Boards and Commissions, and the thousands of active citizens who took interest in and participated in city affairs—a fact which distinguishes Berkeley from so many other communities."

There are, in fact, 109 persons serving on boards and commissions; 17 of them are non-white, 18 are women.

The City Council has also appointed many special committees. Just last month it appointed a new one on the Waterfront and Aquatic Park, to consider how to implement the Council's decision that there should be no more filling of Berkeley tidelands.

Human Relations and Welfare

The expansion and strengthening of the Human Relations and Welfare Commission is a good example of the City Council's concern with the needs of all people in Berkeley.

Before 1961, it existed, after a fashion, as an old-fashioned charity organization, which reviewed requests made for collections and distributed Christmas baskets, and that was all. In the past four years it has been given responsibility for studying the needs of the people and the effects on them of actions taken by the city. At the Commissions' recommendation, for example, the City Council has decided that any new public building must be made accessible to handicapped persons. Following a study of the needs of the pre-school child, the Commission pushed the city to allow the use of houses on land held by the city.

Problems of ethnic groups, as well as of the youth, and the aging, have been studied at length by the Commission, which has continued to press for fair housing and fair employment in Berkeley.

Personnel Policy

By October 11, 1963, there were 194 non-Caucasian persons in "career" positions in city employment—or 22.22 per cent. More significant even than the increase in number was the fact that many non-white persons had been promoted to responsible jobs.

The survey was made at the request of the City Council in connection with its "positive personnel program" to break down old patterns of racial discrimination. Although much progress has been made, integration has been uneven, the Council majority feels, with some departments lagging behind. The City has obtained special permission from the state FEPC to collect racial information in order to study whether its civil service tests have any built-in racial bias.

The Council also raised pay and provided total health insurance for the individual employee, in order to attract qualified people who would stay.

Space and Recreation

The City plans to coordinate with the Rapid Transit District in rebuilding University Avenue as a beautiful entrance to Berkeley, and already has an urban designer working on the plans.

The avenue will connect with the new Berkeley Marina, on which construction will begin in a few months. A new breakwater, 400 new boat berths, a triple launching ramp, restrooms and other facilities will be built, with a loan from the State Small Craft Harbor Commission. Development opportunities for restaurants, a motel and other commercial facilities are now being advertised, and the whole should be complete in four or five years.

The project adheres to the City Council's decision to develop a beautiful and useful waterfront without any more fill.

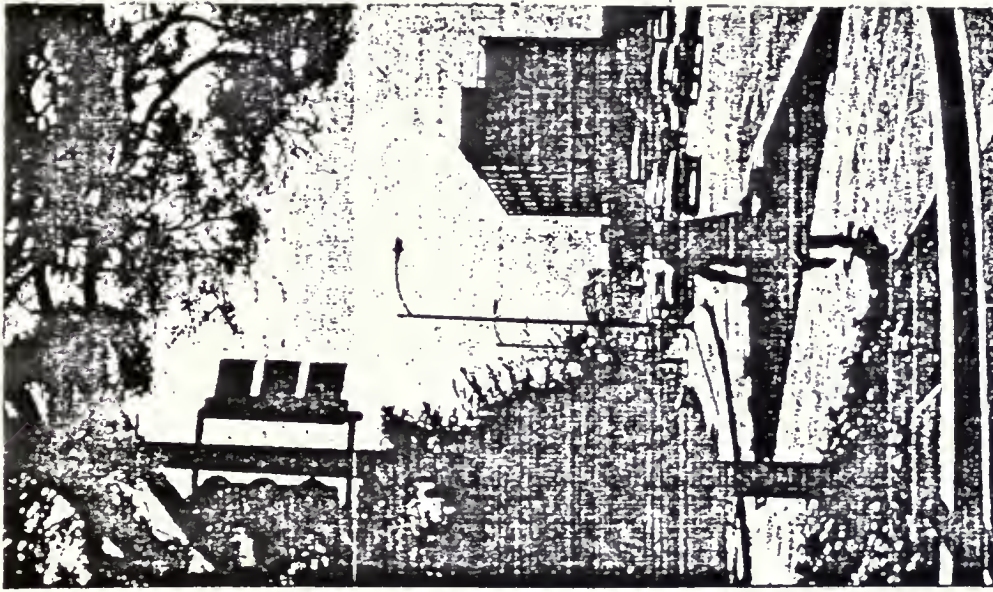
The threat that private interests would take over and fill Aquatic Park was averted. The City Council saved the park for the people and had the lagoon dredged to improve it from the bottom up. It will be a valuable adjunct to the Marina development.

With the recreation center at San Pablo Park recently completed, the City Council majority wants to make other



NEW SWIMMING POOL AT WILLARD is the first of three to be built under the Council majority's pay-as-you-go Capital Improvements Program. A second will be built at West Campus, Berkeley High, as soon as the site is cleared in course of the rebuilding program. Garfield Junior High will get one. Cooperation between the school district and the City Recreation Dept. makes the pools available to both.

City has asked the legislature to allow the transit district to set up special districts for spe-



WIDENING AND RECONSTRUCTION of main streets in Berkeley—Oxford, Fulton, Shattuck—was done in such a way as to beautify the city. Utility lines were put underground, new lamp standards installed, islands landscaped. Here, care was taken to preserve a tree on the corner of Hearst and Oxford.

The Democrat—March, 1965—Page Two

Improvements—such as re-turfing the fields, and providing protected play equipment for small children. The improvements program also provides for new recreation centers at Cordones and Glendale-LaLoma.

Mental Health

A community mental health clinic, now serving about 400 patients a year, was established under the Short-Boyle Act. State funds cover 75% of the cost. The center, located at Herrick Hospital, provides for patients who are ineligible for, or cannot afford psychiatric care from other sources.

Transit

The City Council continues to push for subways for rapid transit in Berkeley and has agreed to pay for engineering drawings for a good sample of the route so it can get comparative bids for subway and elevated lines. Then it can tell how much subway Berkeley can pay for. Through Assem-



CITY EMPLOYEES APPRECIATE the fact that one of the first actions of the new City Council majority in 1961 was to bring their pay up to par. (A Personnel Commission chairman had resigned in frustration at the previous council's refusal to accept repeated commission recommendations for increases.) Representatives of Municipal Employees Union 390 (from left), Dave Jeffery and Harold Wilson present a contribution to the campaign of incumbents Zack Brown, Wilmont Sweeney and Daniel Dewey, and Mrs. Margaret Gordon. Mrs. Gordon was not able to attend the presentation.

Berkeley Switch On Street Rally

70

Telegraph Avenue Approved

By Don Wiegars

The Berkeley City Council reversed itself yesterday and voted to allow a militant street rally on busy Telegraph avenue today.

In addition, instead of closing just the one block between Dwight way and Haste street — as the militants had originally demanded — the council extended the rally area a block south to Channing way.

It was a clear victory for the demonstrators, who had argued all along that last weekend's violence was not all of their making.

OBJECTIONS

The 5 to 3 switch was made over the strenuous objections of Mayor Wallace Johnson. On Tuesday, the permit was turned down in a 5 to 4 vote.

Johnson, showing the strain of two lengthy council meetings, accused the group of "yielding to emotional threats" of the militants who

More Berkeley news
on Page 4

had said they would hold a rally — permit or no permit.

"We would be dupes or children not to realize that theirs is a four-part plan to close the avenue down completely," he said.

In proposing the noon to 10 p.m. rally, Councilman W. T. Brown said he had received "a lot of new information on activities during the recent

The Berkeley Crisis

EDITORIAL

WHILE SANCTIMONIOUSLY talking about peace and love, the coalition of Berkeley militants is demonstrating contempt for both.

By irresponsibly resorting to violence and provoking the police into taking unattractive measures of defense, they are bringing upon the whole community an ever more repressive police-state atmosphere of tear gas, swinging clubs and curfews.

This Berkeley affair has not been a free speech cause, it is a crisis in the streets that threatens to make a mockery of today's celebration of "life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness."

The Berkeley City Council may well have eased the dangers of today's demonstration by letting it be held on Telegraph avenue, but let us hope that the honorable, law-respecting citizenry will dissociate themselves from, and so leave isolated, the hoodlum mob.

See Page 52

Switch by Berkeley Council

From Page 1

curfews" which caused him to change his mind.

Vice Mayor Wilmont Sweeney, who voted Tuesday for the Telegraph avenue site, said the council should reconsider because of "extensive documentation and evidence" that police were guilty of "some degree of excessive force," in putting

down the weekend disturbances.

"And we haven't seen any letters from users of the street who don't want it closed," he said. "But we have substantial numbers of merchants, the overwhelming number of normal users and a large number of neighborhood ministers who are in favor."

Voting to close the two blocks of Telegraph avenue were Councilman Brown, Sweehey, Ronald Dellums, Margaret Gordon, and Bernice Hubbard May.

Mayor Johnson and Councilman John Swingle and Daniel Dewey voted against it. Councilman John De Bonis, a longtime foe of hippies and radicals, was absent.

Mrs. May, who on Tuesday voted for the alternative sites of a municipal parking lot and one block of Channing way west of Telegraph, said the Telegraph site "allows for conciliation" between the city and the demonstrators.

There was no doubt that considerable pressure had been put on council members since Tuesday's decision to deny use of Telegraph avenue.

"If anyone doubts we are being pressured," Mayor Johnson said bitterly, "just observe the vote that takes place today."

Privately, some councilmen said, "Clearly respectable and responsible citizens" had told them of much police harassment during the disturbance. This, they said, gave them second thoughts about how much of the violence could be blamed exclusively on the demonstrators.

Vice Mayor Sweeney conceded, however, "there is no question we have been threatened — but you don't necessarily fail to do something because of a threat."

Yesterday's meeting in the Community Theater was attended by about 200 young persons who generally sat in silence or applauded thunderously when it became evident that their demands were being met.

This was in considerable contrast to Tuesday's crowded session when cries such as "swine!" and "poltroon" filled the air.

Mayor Johnson told yesterday's crowd that he would adjourn the meeting "at the first boo, hiss or oath."

RECESS

He did recess the meeting for 20 minutes when one youth angrily called Police Chief William Beall a "dirty fascist" but monitors generally were successful in keeping the audience quiet.

The permit for the rally, the council decided in a spirit of conciliation, will be issued to 22 members of the South Campus Ministry, restaurateur Larry Blake and Young Socialist Alliance leader Peter Camejo.

The ministers, headed by the Rev. Donald Buteyn of Berkeley First Presbyte-

posed that the council reconsider its earlier stand and he promised to help monitor the crowd.

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LOUDSPEAKERS

The council also voted to allow loudspeakers at the rally — officially called "The All-Berkeley Fourth of July Celebration" — and added the extra block so the crowd could have more room.

And with only Mayor Johnson objecting, it lifted a technical "state of potential disaster" it had invoked on Tuesday. But City Attorney Robert Anderson said officials still had the authority to call police or institute a curfew "any time there is a clear danger."

Chief Beall, who was in charge of the combined law enforcement agencies during the disturbances, was clearly nettled by the implied criticism of police action.

INVESTIGATION

"There were people who attempted to disrupt and in some cases burn down the community," he charged. "And it was necessary to escalate the force used by the police or Berkeley would have been lost."

Just before adjourning, Councilman Dellums called on City Manager William Hanley — who declared the original state of emergency — to present "as soon as possible a thorough investigation of all the circumstances of the past few days."

Mayor Johnson angrily called the idea "preposterous, under these emotional circumstances," and said it implied an unwarranted criticism of police.

The motion passed, with only Mayor Johnson voting "no." But Dellums' second motion, asking the city to seek amnesties for those arrested during the disorders, died for lack of a second.

"You must realize," Dellums told the council, "that the young people of this community have a right to help chart their own destinies — and Telegraph Avenue is their hub of life, the center of their life-style."

He said the council had acted "not to close the avenue but to open up avenues of dialogue" between the Establishment and the city's militant youth.

The Week's News in Review

BERKELEY

Avenue Rebellion

It was the area that most of the country thought of as "Berkeley." National magazines had taken their pictures there, the makers of the film "The Graduate" had used it as a backdrop. The image of Berkeley — a city of 120,000, most of whom were not political activists or hippies — had been created, for good or ill, by that area.

The area was only four blocks long, a stretch of Telegraph avenue from Dwight Way to where the street terminates at Bancroft avenue and the University of California. It was lined with stores selling rock records or clothes or psychedelic posters or, pre-eminently, books, and dozens of restaurants serving inexpensive foods of all kinds, from hamburgers to enchiladas.

Dogs roamed the area continuously, as did strolling street musicians and underground newspaper salesmen, giving "The Avenue" the flavor of a continuous street fair. Motorists approached the congestion there, from weekend hippies and curiosity seekers as well as the highly-motorized transient population — in residence, at their own risk.

The Hlastloo

In recent years, it had gotten so that the students and drop-outs who lived around there, in the cheap rented rooms or crowded together in ticky-tacky modern apartments, had begun to believe that Telly belonged exclusively to them. It was their home, their bastion against a hostile world outside.

The police were unwel-

come intruders, especially since they tended to be uptight about marijuana, and pot was to The Avenue what beer used to be to Fraternity Row.

It was this feeling of community and protection, and the long-simmering hostility towards the police, that helped to precipitate the Berkeley riots of last weekend.

The Agitators

The other major ingredient was old-fashioned agitation by new-fashioned agitators. Peter Camejo, 28-year-old son of an upper-middle class Venezuelan family who had come to Berkeley in 1966 where he had taken the minimum number of units to

qualify as a student at the university and had spent most of his time championing left-wing causes, was one such (he was expelled from U.C. last year for violating campus regulations).

The lean, intense firebrand was the leader of the Young Socialists Alliance, the youth arm of the very far left Trotskyite Socialist Workers Party, and as such was dedicated to rebellion and mass movements. He had, in fact, been in France during the recent student uprising there.

It was Camejo who organized the original Telly demonstration 10 days ago, an early evening rally in front of Cody's bookstore on The Avenue to demonstrate solidarity with dissident left-wing French students. Camejo had previously appeared before the Berkeley City Council and announced he was going to hold the demonstration and had no intention of asking for a permit.

Rocks and Gas

What happened after the demonstration, involving more than 2000 persons, got under way was a matter of some conjecture. The demonstrators claimed that their monitors, wearing arm-bands, had attempted to keep young people out of the street and in compliance with the law, but that some few had slipped through and thrown trash and rocks.

The police claimed, in effect, that the hooliganism was encouraged, if not actively promoted, by the demonstration's leaders. At any rate, all agreed what happened next:

After warning that the demonstration was illegal, the police lobbed tear gas grenades behind the crowd and then charged with clubs



Cover Photo by Christopher Springmann

AP Wirephoto

SCENE ON TELEGRAPH DURING THE FIRST NIGHT OF VIOLENCE
Old-fashioned agitation, new-fashioned agitators

observers, including New York Times reporter Lawrence Davies, called the gassing "indiscriminate."

Flaming Barricades

Most of the demonstrators dispersed then, but some 500 remained behind, clustered at Bancroft and Telegraph at the edge of the campus. While police were occupied further down the street, the 500 built barricades in the intersection — just as the French rebels had done — and set them ablaze. Tear gas finally routed these demonstrators, too.

A false calm prevailed the next day, with constant meetings by dissidents plotting strategy. The evening brought renewed demonstrations, when as many as 400 demonstrators threw rocks and trash, set at least three fires (one at a vacant, condemned wood frame apartment house, which was completely gutted) and were in their turn dispersed by more volleys of tear gas grenades.

By then some 700 officers — from Berkeley and other East Bay communities, Alameda county sheriff's deputies, California Highway Patrolmen — had been thrown into the battle.

The next day, at a rally in Berkeley's Provo Park across the street from the City Hall and the police station, the demonstrators protested police actions ("We went out and closed Tele-



CAMEJO SPEAKS AT CAL
He didn't want a permit

RE-ELECT Councilman Wm. T. "ZACK" BROWN

1047 Mariposa Avenue

524-6065

Berkeley, California 94707

Campaign Coordinator

Frances Duffy
841-1206

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Earle Fuller
1071 Spruce Street
Berkeley, California 94707

Spring, 1969

Dear Friend:

Once again we ask your help in re-electing our good friend, William T. "Zack" Brown, to the Berkeley City Council. He was first elected in 1961 when, thanks to your concern and support, Berkeley's City Council finally achieved a community-minded, decisive majority determined to find fair and equitable solutions to the difficult and divisive problems confronting urban areas.

Zack was one member of that winning team. And now, in 1969, when two other dedicated incumbents, Margaret Gordon and Daniel Dewey, cannot again be candidates, Zack's re-election is of crucial importance. We need his continued service on the City Council. We need his experience, his judgment, his good will, his intimate knowledge of community needs. We need his determination to work toward solving the problems of confrontation that dramatize today's dilemmas.

Will you lend a helping hand once again? Your help is needed in any and every way you can give it — as a contributor, as an endorser, as a campaign worker, and as a Berkeley citizen who will proudly cast his vote for Zack on April 1.

Thank you for your help in past campaigns. We hope that you will do as much — or more if you can — in these troubled times. Please make your check payable to the Zack Brown Campaign Committee and mail it with the enclosed pledge card. Your prompt and generous support is urgently needed as once again we join together to BACK ZACK!

Sincerely,



Laurie Lehtin



Frank T. Lindgren

Finance Committee Co-Chairmen

Wm. T. 'ZACK' BROWN FOR CITY COUNCIL

DEMOCRATIC NEWSLETTER

MARCH, 1969

1853 ASHBY AVENUE, BERKELEY, CALIFORNIA



Berkeley Demos Endorse City Council Slate



EDITORIAL: BERKELEY DEMOCRATS ENDORSE CITY COUNCIL SLATE

In its February 2 meeting, the Berkeley Caucus—composed of representatives of the Berkeley Democratic community—endorsed five candidates for

INCUMBENTS BROWN, SWEENEY AND SWINGLE SEEK RE-ELECTION RECORD OF ACHIEVEMENT IS KEY

William T. "Zack" Brown, a name familiar to all Berkeley citizens, has had eight years of service on the Berkeley City Council. Zack, a lifelong

GRODIN, WIDENER ENTER RACE: NEW PERSPECTIVE SEEN

In addition to endorsing incumbents Brown, Sweeney, and Swingle, the Berkeley Caucus has endorsed two young men who will bring a fresh outlook to the City Council—Joe Grodin

CITYWIDE DEMOCRATIC SUPPORT FOR CAUCUS CANDIDATES

Berkeley Democrats will recognize many familiar names among those working for the Caucus Slate: Frances Albrier, Elizabeth Torrey Andrews,



BERKELEY DEMOCRATIC CLUB

RESOLUTION

WHEREAS, WM. T. ("ZACK") BROWN, former President and longtime member of this Club, is 80 years old this year; and

WHEREAS, Zack has served this Club, this city, this nation and all mankind unselfishly for most of those years and it is the desire of this Board to memorialize and honor those years of service.

NOW, THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED that this Club on behalf of its members and all citizens of Berkeley extends its best wishes and greetings to WM. T. ZACK BROWN on the occasion of his birthday and cites in support of this testimonial the following facts:

He graduated from Cornell University in 1926 and worked during the Great Depression on behalf of homeless and helpless workers. He organized the first consumer cooperative in Washington, D.C.

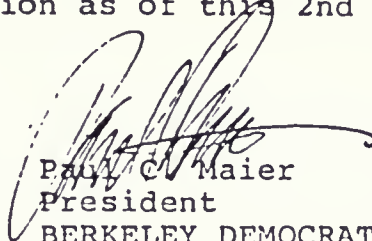
He moved to California in 1945 to work in the cooperative movement and became the first manager of the Cooperative Center Federal Credit Union and was active in many other cooperative organizations.

He early became active in Democratic politics and served as a precinct worker, as president of the Berkeley Chapter of ADA, as president of this Berkeley Democratic Club and for two terms as a member of the Berkeley City Council.

He continues today to be an active member of the Board of the Berkeley Democratic Club and a tireless worker for all liberal causes and candidates.

RESOLVED, FURTHER, that this Club shall cause to be prepared a testimonial certificate to be delivered to Zack at an appropriate occasion, together with a certified copy of this Resolution.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF, the undersigned has certified and attested to this Resolution as of this 2nd day of June, 1983.



Paul C. Maier
President
BERKELEY DEMOCRATIC CLUB

Attest

Marylyn A. Coons
Secretary

APPENDIX D

BACKGROUND MATERIALS:

ZACK BROWN AND THE COOPERATIVE MOVEMENT

THE PROPOSED
KONSUM, INC.
 (A Rochdale Cooperative)

Some of the members of the Washington Consumers' Club propose to organize a cooperative corporation for the benefit of consumers in the District of Columbia and adjacent areas. Since the District of Columbia has no cooperative law, the association will probably be incorporated in Virginia. Although it will be a true Rochdale Cooperative, the word "cooperative" cannot be used in the name since it is reserved for agricultural marketing cooperative in Virginia.

Konsum will be broad enough in its charter to provide for furnishing all possible consumers' goods and services as conditions warrant. However, its first venture will be in the field of gasoline and oil distribution on a cooperative basis. The first distributing point will be located in the area bounded by M Street and the Potomac, between 18th and 28th Streets. Pledges for membership are solicited particularly from car owners who can conveniently patronize a gas station in that locality. However, pledges from any other interested persons will gladly be accepted, since it is the intention eventually to operate at several other locations in different sections of the metropolitan area.

The planning committee proposes to proceed conservatively, beginning with the renting of a pump or pumps and services, in an existing gasoline station. The future policy of expansion of this cooperative will be determined by the patronage provided by the members. It is proposed initially to pay rent on the basis of the amount of business rather than by any fixed monthly charges. A considerable portion of the first savings will probably be needed for increasing the operating capital to provide for future expansion. The experience of cooperative gas associations elsewhere indicates that considerable savings to the consumer can be effected in time, but we must not expect great savings returns immediately.

It is intended to begin operations when there are three hundred members, and at least six hundred shares are subscribed. All persons paying for at least one share of stock prior to incorporation will be considered charter members and will have the right to participate in the formulation of the charter and the by-laws and in the election of the first board of directors. However, all members in good standing will naturally have uniform privileges, no matter at what time they join.

A pledge for membership is attached. Please mail to the designated address or hand to an authorized representative.

P. S. The Executive Committee of the Washington Consumers' Club, under authority given by the membership of the Club, has endorsed the above plan. If you are not already a member of the Washington Consumers' Club you are urged to join and to participate in its study units and its buying activities as a preparation for intelligent participation in the activities of Konsum, Inc. The Club's dues are \$2.00 per year. For information write to its Secretary, Fred Compton, 5512 - 7th Street, N. W., Washington, D. C.

Washington, D. C. _____, 1936

I hereby agree to purchase two shares of stock at \$5.00 per share in the proposed

KONSUM, INC. (proposed)
969 National Press Building

AND I PROMISE TO PAY THE SUM OF TEN DOLLARS TO THE SAID

ASSOCIATION IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE FOLLOWING PROVISIONS:

1. That this agreement shall be valid and collectible when six hundred (600) shares of stock are subscribed.

2. That I am to pay the full amount on this agreement after the incorporation of the proposed cooperative. That an organization meeting shall be called by the organization committee when the committee feels that a sufficient number of shares of stock have been subscribed, notice of such meeting to be given to me by mail at least seven days in advance.

3. Each stockholder shall be entitled to one vote in the general management of the Association. The shares of stock are non-assessable. The organization meeting shall be called for the purpose of electing directors and officers, as well as approving the by-laws of the proposed cooperative.

The organization committee consists of the following:

William T. Brown	Edward Euberman
Ernest Collins	Walter Krimont
Fred Compton	Simon M. Newman
John E. Deno	Udo Rall
Edwin Duerbeck	Eulda W. Randell
Clark Foreman	Joseph G. Riddle
Ernestine L. Friedman	Ralph Russell
Leroy A. Halbert	M. P. Shauffler
James L. Hall	Alfonzo Sullivan

Name _____

Address _____

Phone number _____

Solicitor: _____

KONSUM, Inc.
(The proposed Rochdale Cooperative)
Room 969, National Press Building
Washington, D. C.

June 15, 1936

Dear Subscriber:

The organization committee of the proposed gasoline cooperative met last week. We were delighted to receive your application for membership, which evidences your active interest in the enterprise. We know you will want to be informed of progress to date.

There are now 102 subscribers of the 300 judged essential to initiate the project on a substantial and enduring basis. Sub-committees of the organization committee are at work on legal and business details, preparing plans to be submitted at the incorporation meeting which will be held as soon as the 300 mark is reached.

We all want to get into action as soon as possible. Will you help by interesting those of your friends who own cars and whose homes or offices are within reach of the proposed location? If each of the present subscribers will secure at least two more, cooperative gasoline can begin to flow.

A subscription blank is enclosed. Get another cooperator to sign up if you can, list your name as solicitor, and mail the blank to the address given above. We shall be glad to mail you as many more as you can use if you will write for them or telephone to District 6494.

Cooperatively yours,

Enclosure (1)

1. Purpose

A cooperative organization formed to distribute gasoline and oils will have three distinct functions to perform. Such an organization will be in a position to educate the members and the general public as to the various aspects of cooperation and, hence, form quite a stimulus to the cooperative movement. Secondly, the operation of a cooperative filling station, even on a small scale, in the District of Columbia will serve as a starting place from which surpluses can be accumulated to expand within the gasoline and oil business, and, if advisable, into other fields of activity. The third purpose of this cooperative organization is to provide a means by which the members can share in the profits of their gasoline and oil purchases.

2. Organization Procedure

In the membership campaign it is proposed to distribute a form to prospective members, the general tenor of which is that the signer of this form agrees to purchase two or more shares at \$5 per share, provided that 600 shares are subscribed for in the vicinity of Washington within three months from date. When 600 shares have been subscribed an organization meeting will be held for the proposed association.

It is proposed to invite the various existing consumers' cooperatives in the City of Washington to participate in this cooperative, but since none of the existing cooperatives seem to be incorporated with the necessary powers it will be necessary for a new legal entity to be established. It is proposed to incorporate this cooperative under the laws of Virginia.

3. Initial Location

It is proposed to rent a portion of an existing independent filling station located between twenty-fourth and twenty-fifth streets and Virginia Avenue, N.W. The owner of this filling station has agreed to rent one or two pumps as are found necessary, to the cooperative. Tentative agreements indicate that $\frac{1}{4}$ of a cent per gallon of gasoline sold and five cents per quart of oil will provide sufficient rent and cover the cost of his attendants servicing the members' cars. The owner of the filling station also agrees to charge the cooperative 50 cents for each grease job done on members' cars.

4. Estimated Revenue

Assuming that 350 members join the association, it will be conservative to figure the income on the basis of 300 members continuously purchasing their supplies at the cooperative station. A further assumption is that each member will, on the average, purchase 40 gallons of gasoline a month, three quarts of oil, and one-half of a grease job. The members will pay current market prices for all purchases. On the basis of these assumptions, the following income is estimated:

Income

40 gals. Gas x 300 members	= 12,000 gal.	@ 16 $\frac{1}{2}$ ¢	= \$1,980.00
3 qts. Oil x 300 members	= 900 qts.	@ 25¢	= 225.00
Grease	= 150	@ 75¢	= 112.50
Total income			<u>\$2,317.50</u>

The expenses for a month's operation are estimated as follows:

Expense

Rent and Labor Charges

Gas Rent	12,000 x $\frac{3}{4}$	=	\$ 90.00	
Oil	900 x .05	=	45.00	
Grease labor	150 x .50	=	75.00	
	Total rent and labor charges			<u>\$210.00</u>

Cost of Materials

Gas	12,000 x 13 $\frac{1}{2}$	=	\$1,620.00	
Oil	900 x 15	=	135.00	
	Total material cost			<u>\$1,755.00</u>
	Office expense			25.00
	Educational expense			<u>50.00</u>

TOTAL EXPENSE \$ 2,040.00

Net before reserve \$ 277.50

Distribution of Earnings

Reserve for contingencies	\$ 50.00	
Reserve for fixed capital expansion	70.00	
Reserve for patronage dividends	138.75	
Surplus	<u>18.75</u>	
Total distribution of earnings		<u>\$ 277.50</u>

Estimated 6 months dividend accumulation \$ 832.50

5. Reserves

It is proposed that the following policies be adopted with regard to reserves:

A. Reserve for Contingencies: - There are many contingencies which will arise in establishing a new business and it would be well to provide adequate reserves to cover any of the unforeseen expenses. It is proposed that a reserve be accumulated which shall not be more than ten per cent of the capital invested in the cooperative and shall accumulate at the rate of one per cent of the net income before reserve, but not less than \$50.00 per month.

B. Reserve for Capital Expansion: - It is realized that a large fund will be accumulated through the sale of memberships in the cooperative, but it is also felt that it is desirable to apply a portion of the earnings to expansion of the cooperative, especially since in the initial stage the cooperative will be renting all of its equipment. In view of this, it is proposed to accumulate a reserve for capital expansion at the rate of 25% of the net income before reserve.

C. Patronage Dividends: - It is proposed to pay patronage dividends of at least 50% of net income on the basis of purchases at regular quarterly periods.

D. Surplus: - The remaining income after the above reserves have been provided will be charged to Surplus.

6. Operation

It is proposed that this cooperative will use the usual standard methods of operation, such as having the books audited, the use of surety bonds, operation on a cash basis, and other Rochdale principles. It is proposed to establish a board of directors and adopt a date of annual meeting and other such provisions at the first annual meeting.

7. Summary

In considering the formation of an oil cooperative, it is believed that the most effective type of organization at the start is the one proposed in the above prospectus, that of renting the minimum amount of equipment on a flexible rent basis.

Consideration was given to the thought of starting out with a buying group, that is, making arrangements with some independent chain to give the cooperative a discount on purchases made by the members. This is undesirable as it will build up a decentralized cooperative and the members will not be limited to any given section of the city.

In starting an oil cooperative, one of the ultimate goals is that the cooperative will own a filling station. A decentralized cooperative, such as would result from the buying group, would not lend itself to the ultimate purchase of a filling station. In other words, it appears that a buying group is one step removed from cooperation as compared to the proposed arrangements.

Thought was also given to the formation of an oil cooperative by the outright purchase of a filling station at the start. This procedure was not justified because of the large capital outlay which would be necessary and because of the risk involved. It was felt that a more conservative procedure could be followed by requiring as little capital investment as possible for the start so that the subscriptions obtained from members could be used as a contingency reserve rather than as the initial investment. The proposed organization will offer an opportunity to test the members' loyalty and to obtain experience in the oil business before making any large cash outlay.

KONSUM, INC.
969 National Press Building
Washington, D. C.

85

August 25, 1936

Dear Cooperator:

The organization meeting of Konsum, Inc., will be held on Tuesday, September 1, at 8 P.M., in the Episcopal Parish House, Falls Church, Virginia. To get there, drive out the Lee Highway to Falls Church, turning left onto Broad Street at the traffic light (which may not be working); the Parish House is about 200 yards south, on the right side of the street.

A complete list of candidates for the Board of Directors is enclosed, with information about each one. Your ballot is printed at the bottom of this sheet. Vote for seven persons by marking an X in front of their names, sign the ballot, and detach. (Since only holders of fully paid shares are entitled to vote, your ballot must be signed so that it can be checked against your payment.)

We hope you will be able to attend the meeting, in order that you may take advantage of the discussion on the floor. If you are present you will be given an opportunity to purchase your shares before the ballots are collected.

However, if you are unable to attend, you may send your ballot by mail to Konsum, Inc., 969 National Press Building, Washington, D. C. It should be accompanied by your check or money order made out in favor of Konsum, Inc., and should be received by noon of September 1.

Cooperatively yours,

Organization Committee

Ballot for Board of Directors, Konsum, Inc.

Mark 7 names, sign, detach, and bring or mail to meeting.

☐ Adams, Foster	☐ Lattman, Isidore	☐ Schauffler, Marjorie P.
☐ Brown, Wm. T.	☐ Means, Gardner C.	☐ Sheskin, Boris B.
☐ Collins, Ernest	☐ Newman, Simon	☐ Shoemaker, Daniel M.
☐ Elliott, Nancy	☐ Radabaugh, James	☐ Weaver, Robert C.
☐ Foreman, Clark	☐ Rall, Udo	☐ Wickens, David
☐ Freeman, Ward B.	☐ Riley, Hugh	☐ Wood, Herbert S.
☐ Gibson, Roland		

Signature of Member (Write Plainly)

Does a Consumers' Cooperative pay purchase dividends to non-members?

It does.

Instead of cash dividends, however, it gives them credit toward purchase of stock. This enables the non-member to become a member at a very small cash outlay, or none at all.

Thus it is made easy for a non-member to become a member. In some associations, only one share at \$5 is required, and this can be bought with a small down payment, remaining payments being met by purchase dividends as they accrue.

Does a Consumers' Cooperative want all its patrons to become members?

It does.

A Consumers' Cooperative wants all its customers to join with it, sharing in the responsibility and the savings. That is what is meant by COOPERATION. It is a movement of, by and for a great and inclusive partnership of Consumers. By the slow but sure evolutionary method, it is working toward the complete reconstruction of society into a Cooperative Economic Democracy.

Ask for Bibliography of Pamphlets and Books and learn all about the great Consumers' Cooperative Movement.

THE COOPERATIVE LEAGUE

167 West 12th St.

New York City



How does a Consumers' Cooperative differ from a Commercial Business?



How does a Consumers' Cooperative differ from a Commercial Business in — —

—the purpose
for which it is
run?

The purpose of a Commercial Business is to make money for those who own its stock. In order to do this, goods are produced for someone else to use. The purpose of a Consumers' Cooperative is to

provide goods for its shareholding members themselves to use. These goods differ in the same sense that a market garden differs from a kitchen garden.

—the voting
power of its
shareholders?

In a Commercial Business each share of stock gives its owner one vote. A person owning a thousand shares has a thousand votes. A majority of the shares run the business.

In a Consumers' Cooperative, each shareholder has one vote, regardless of the amount of stock he owns. He votes as a member who is personally interested in the quality and price of the goods, not primarily as an owner of capital. Men vote, not money. The consumer members run the business.

—the
distribution of
its earnings?

A Commercial Business pays its earnings or "profits" to stockholders in proportion to the amount of stock each owns.

A Consumers' Cooperative limits interest on stock to a legal rate (usually 5 or 6 per cent). This interest is considered an operating cost. Only such interest is paid as is necessary to secure needed capital. All net earnings are distributed to members in proportion to the amount each has paid for purchases, that is, are distributed as purchase dividends, or are used for some social purpose in accordance with the expressed wish of the members. Thus goods are obtained at cost, and "private-profits" are eliminated. By this means excessive savings are eliminated and wealth justly distributed.

—the admission
of new
"partners"?

A Commercial Business usually issues new stock to new stockholders only when it is thought that the extra capital will sooner or later increase the rate of profits. In general, the fewer partners to divide profits, the better.

A Consumers' Cooperative always welcomes new members who will use its services. Because earnings are distributed on purchases instead of on stock, the economies of large scale production can only be obtained by increasing the number of consumer-members. In general, the more "partners" to decrease the cost of service, the better.

**Why does
a Consumers'
Cooperative set
prices at market
rate, and then
pay rebates?**

It is impossible to budget in advance the exact cost of producing an article or a service. Yet people want to know at once how much it will cost them. The only thing to do is to set a price that is surely high enough, and then to return as a dividend on purchases any amount that remains after exact costs are known.

As a practical matter, the setting of prices that will be in excess of cost is quite easy. For nearly a hundred years Consumers' Cooperatives have been able to use the "market price" set by their competitors. That price contains the necessary excess!

Interest on shares is limited. No one acquires them for speculative sake, but for security. And as a policy, the Consumers' Cooperative sells and will redeem its shares at par. For this reason, no buyer will pay more, nor any seller take less, than par value for stock.

**How does a
Consumers' Co-
operative keep
its stock at par?**

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